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ABSTRACT

The papers in this collection were presented at an international symposium on improving the management of urban research, particularly through city-university collaboration. An introductory framework paper summarizes the range of research services available to local government, the types of urban research activity, and the problems of urban research in various countries. A state of the art paper reviews experiences in city-university collaboration in demonstration programs funded by the Ford Foundation, the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the National Science Foundation during the sixties and the seventies. Subsequent papers discuss the context, current situation, needs, problems, and prospects of urban research collaboration between city governments and universities in Turin, Italy; Istanbul, Turkey; Birmingham, England; Detroit, U.S.A.; and Ireland. Issues addressed include the efficient use of limited resources; greater integration of research activities with political and administrative processes; better synchronization between researchers and urban managers/decision-makers; and a better balance between internal and external research activity in local government. A concluding paper examines how human values can help to restore rationality to and increase respect for ideas and dissent in urban policy-making. (Author/MJL)

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# IMPROVING THE MANAGEMENT OF URBAN RESEARCH: CITY/UNIVERSITY CO-OPERATION

An international symposium organised by the Technical Cooperation Service of the OECD, in association with Wayne State University, the City of Detroit, and New Detroit Inc.

**Detroit, 12-17th May, 1980**

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OECD Urban Management Studies

# IMPROVING THE MANAGEMENT OF URBAN RESEARCH: CITY/UNIVERSITY COOPERATION

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

OECD Secretariat

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The papers collected here are revised versions of those which formed the basis for discussion at a symposium on improving the management of urban research held at Wayne State University, Detroit, USA in May 1980. Following the meeting, contributors were encouraged to review their presentations in the light of what they had learned from the discussions and exchanges of experience. Several of them did so, and the additional insights thus stimulated are tangible evidence of the benefits they obtained from meeting colleagues from other countries.

The symposium was the sixth in a series of international meetings which have been organised on key aspects of urban management since 1972, and was aimed specifically at encouraging an exchange of experience on the subject of city/university cooperation in urban research.

The Steering Committee on Urban Management (as it was then known) of the Cooperative Action Programme of the OECD encouraged the development of a new project on this subject in 1979. This came in direct response to growing concern that too much urban research is unrelated to the current needs of local government. New ways for ensuring more effective urban research are required in order that its impact on urban decision-making processes can become more immediate. And, conversely, means must also be found for making city government more receptive to the contribution that researchers can make to solving real urban problems.

Several key issues were identified for attention. We need to know how to achieve: more efficient usage of the limited but varied research resources available; greater integration of research activities with political and administrative processes; easier access and improved dialogue between researchers and urban managers; better synchronisation between the time scales of research projects and the demands of the client decision-makers; and a better balance between internal and external research activity in local government.

This series of needs set the broader context within which the specific experiments of the case studies presented at Detroit were examined. To provide a further link between these particular examples and other possible means of improving the management of urban research, a framework paper was presented at the opening of the symposium to review the range of methods being used to provide a research service to local government.

This was based on responses received to an enquiry which was circulated to a wide sample of research and local government agencies in many OECD member countries. It helped to structure the presentations and discussions, and was commented upon by Dr. Music, then director of the Urban Institute of Ljubljana in Yugoslavia.

In view of the relatively large amount of experience already gained in the United States in fostering city government/university/urban institute cooperation, the opportunity was taken to examine the lessons from this experience and analyse alternative approaches to this problems at first hand, through a case-study of the experience of the Detroit City/Wayne State University Consortium. To take further advantage of the American experience a two-day national conference on city/university/public agency cooperation was sandwiched within the international symposium. Participants in the international meeting were guest participants at the national conference which was held at the same venue. The two keynote addresses of the national meeting have been included in this volume in order to make it more complete. The paper by Mr. Areson of the National League of Cities provides a valuable overview of the development of city/university collaboration in the United States and Mr. Oliver (National Endowment for the Humanities) emphasises the need for government to support research on social issues affecting and affected by urban policy making.

The international symposium was attended by experts from 11 OECD countries and specific examples of different approaches to city/university cooperation were reported from a wide range of settings. Participants represented a careful balance of university institutions and city governments (including both elected representatives and practitioners). Thus, the case study from Turin in Italy was presented by an officer of the city of Turin who was also a municipal councillor. His paper was commented upon by the Head of the Town Planning Research Centre, National Technical University of Athens, and the director of a German research

institute. The case study from Istanbul, Turkey was presented by an assistant professor from an Istanbul university involved in city/university cooperation and was commented upon by an elected member of the city assembly in Lisbon, Portugal and the Mayor of Speyer, a medium-sized city in Germany. The final case study, from Birmingham, U.K., was presented from two perspectives: firstly by the Director of the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies at the University of Birmingham, and secondly by two senior planning officers of the city and county involved in the cooperative exercises. This experience was commented upon by a Swedish University professor and the head of the planning and programming department of the Madrid Metropolitan Planning Commission.

It was encouraging that in the final session of the symposium, most of the international experts undertook to take follow-up action in their respective countries and cities on returning home. These commitments ranged from disseminating the ideas of the symposium by writing articles for publication, organising follow-up meetings or by developing national and international networks; to opening up city halls to students. Several countries agreed that from the starting point given by this symposium, they would go on to find out more about the way in which cities and universities are cooperating, and to identify any causes of failure to achieve more from such cooperation. The United States proposed to make a national survey to identify models of city/university linkages in some 40-50 American cities.

This set of papers represents one of the several lines of action which have been embarked upon as a direct result of the symposium. It reflects the increasing interests of both researchers and governments in cooperative ventures and partnership arrangements. This interest is an evident response to the call for greater cost-effectiveness which is already becoming one of the major management themes of the 1980's.

## 2. A FRAMEWORK PAPER

OECD Secretariat

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### INTRODUCTION

This framework paper is based on responses to a checklist which was circulated to most OECD member countries at the beginning of 1980. The prime objective of the checklist was to see models of city/university cooperation in the perspective of the wider range of alternative methods available for bringing urban researchers and managers closer together.

This was attempted by first examining two aspects of urban research: (1) the variety of institutional arrangements available, and (2) the different types of urban research undertaken. Some insight into the adequacy of the existing situation in terms of supply and demand was then sought by asking for comments on the problems being faced in each country.

Replies to the questionnaire were received from 16 OECD Member countries. These provided a good basis for placing the examples of city/university cooperation presented at the Detroit symposium in the broader context of urban research in its multiple forms.

This material is summarised in the framework paper so as to indicate the range of research services available to local government at present, and to identify common ground and areas of difficulty. The framework paper also had an important purpose in providing a set of specific points for discussion at the Detroit symposium; suggesting criteria for evaluation of the models presented; and generally helping to structure the proceedings.

RESUME OF RESPONSES

Question 1: The Variety of Institutional Arrangements for Urban Research.

Nine possible institutional arrangements for undertaking urban research for local government were identified in the checklist. They represent various combinations of central government, local government and university cooperation. Respondants were asked to indicate (yes or no) which alternatives in the listing were currently operating in their country.

The most widespread arrangement was found to be that of a central government agency or institution financing or sponsoring urban research. This was present in every country from which responses were received. The second most common alternative was that of a university or other academic institution undertaking urban research on its own initiative. Only Japan gave a negative response to this item, but this more probably reflects a misinterpretation of the question than an actual lack of university-based research.

The least mentioned option was that of direct city/university cooperation. This was found in nine countries (Denmark, Germany, Italy, Japan, Portugal, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States) but not in Norway, and Spain. In Austria, specific cooperation of this type was stated to be "nearly non existent", the only known example being in Vienna, where the city created a special fund in 1970 to promote research projects by the technical university.

Institutions established by local governments in association are present in ten countries but not in six others; while central research units operating within local government were found to exist in ten countries but not in seven others. ( Note that when two independant responses were received from the same country, replies were not always entirely consistent.)

Of all the countries replying to the checklist, only two, Germany and the United States, claimed to have examples of all the nine different arrangements defined. Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, Turkey, and the U.K., however, all indicated that they have all but one of the possibilities. The countries seeming to have the most limited set of arrangements on the other hand, were Spain (not having five) and Greece, France, Denmark and Australia (each not having four of the

options according to at least one of the replies received for those countries.)

It seems, therefore, that a considerable variety of mechanisms for undertaking urban research is available but that the extent to which this range of options is being applied varies a lot from one OECD member country to another. Not surprisingly, the more traditional approaches (research by central government or universities) seem to be the most widespread, although there are some indications that more flexible innovations, responsive to the real needs of local government, are more extensively used than was believed.

Obviously the simple yes/no responses to the checklist give no indication of how widespread any particular approach is within a given country. Similarly there are undoubtedly local experimental arrangements in many countries which are not well known nationally and which have not therefore been registered in the responses received.

QUESTION 2: Types of Urban Research Activity

A classification of five distinct types of urban research activity for local government was given and respondants were asked to indicate which were currently being provided in their country. Responses fell into two distinct groups: those services which are available in all, or almost all of the countries, and those which are lacking in about half of the countries surveyed.

Investigative studies (examination of specific current problems in depth by specialist teams or consultants) are undertaken in all the countries surveyed without exception. Similarly, basic data collection, storage and monitoring takes place in all but two (Portugal and Turkey) of the countries from which responses were received. This suggests that there may be some correlation between this type of urban research activity and the traditional channels available for undertaking such work. Whether or not the services provided and the mechanisms used are in turn correlated with the nature of the demand for urban research is yet to be established.

A direct research service (in-house) for senior urban managers and decision makers is considered to be available in eight countries and not in seven others, (i.e. Scandinavia (Norway, Sweden, Denmark); southern Europe (Portugal, Greece, Turkey) and the USA). A more detailed analysis of this type of research service for

local government was attempted in a separate questionnaire which has been evaluated independently (refer to OECD documents CT/URB/213 and 215).

Similarly, the ability to respond rapidly to demands for urgent information and advice, and to provide a quick decision-aiding and problem-solving facility for local government is thought to be available in eight countries but not in the following six: Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, Spain and Italy.

It seems therefore that in the Scandinavian countries neither of these more responsive services are used, but perhaps some other alternative not specified in the checklist fills this gap. In southern Europe the picture which emerges is that except in Portugal where a Task Force system operates, either in-house research or some form of rapid response service is available to local government. In the European bloc of France, Germany, the U.K., the Netherlands, and Austria, together with Japan, both of these types of urban research activity are available.

MATRIX ANALYSIS

Respondants were also asked to relate each type of research activity to the various institutional arrangements available in their country for undertaking research. The degree to which each of the mechanisms mentioned was used was graded on a scale from four (for major responsibility) to one (for no involvement). This was an attempt to identify the nature and distribution of research work amongst different agents and the gaps which occur the following patterns emerged.

Many countries reported that they have no formal structure for city/university cooperation. Major involvement in this field is limited to very few countries, and where city/university cooperation does take place, the type of activity varies considerably. This includes basic data analysis in Italy; investigative analytical research in Germany; and rapid response services in the USA (the only country identified as having any city-university cooperation directed at a rapid-response service).

As might be expected, major involvement by academic institutions is heavily biased towards investigative studies and analytical research. Because of the traditional nature and objectives of many such institutions, research work often tends to be on

relatively long-term projects and closer to pure than to applied research in character. For these reasons no involvement at all is reported by these academic institutions in the rapid response servicing field.

Central governments clearly play an important role in undertaking, coordinating and supporting urban research in most countries. Replies to the checklist suggest that there is major involvement by central government in all types of urban research activities in many countries,but this is especially true for basic data collection, storage and monitoring and in investigative studies. Least activity is reported in the rapid response area (where only Australia, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal seem to have major central government responsibility). No central government involvement in this area is reported in replies received from the Germany, Sweden, the U.K. or Turkey.

Where central government SUPPORT is involved (rather than actually undertaking or coordinating research), there is a greater tendency for this to be for longer-term analytical investigations, although in the Netherlands and Italy some support of basic data collection, storage and monitoring was indicated.

Similarly, institutes of local government associations tend to place greater emphasis on analytical and investigative studies. In Germany however, rapid response and direct services are also reported to be a major responsibility in such institutes.

Research undertaken as an in-house function within local government was reported to be a major responsibility in a relatively large number of countries, and as would be expected, activity concentrates on providing direct and rapid response services to urban managers and decision-makers.

As is indicated in the table on the following page, some clear strengths and weaknesses seem to exist in the patterns of supply and demand for urban research. These are based on a simple scoring system using the actual responses to the checklist. While it is unwise to attempt to interpret too much from this skeleton of information, the following obvious comments may be made:-

## URBAN RESEARCH ACTIVITIES AND INSTITUTIONS: AN INDICATIVE MATRIX OF INVOLVEMENT (1)

| Activities / Institutions | Basic Data | Direct Service | Rapid Response | Investigative Studies | Analytical Research | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| City/University Cooperation | 8 | 7 | 3 | 12 | 11 | 41 |
| Academic Institutions | 11 | 10 | 5 | 25 | 23 | 74 |
| Central government (active or coordinating) | 35 | 16 | 16 | 34 | 28 | 129 |
| Central government (supporting) | 16 | 9 | 6 | 23 | 25 | 79 |
| Local government (supporting) | 13 | 16 | 14 | 26 | 17 | 86 |
| Within local government | 18 | 23 | 23 | 22 | 14 | 100 |
| Totals | 101 | 81 | 67 | 142 | 118 | 509 |

(1) Scores were obtained by simple addition of responses received according to the level of involvement indicated as follows: major responsibility = 3 points; minor responsibility = 2 points; occasional involvement = 1 point; no involvement = zero.

- basic data collection/storage/monitoring is clearly shown to be a major responsibility of central government and the contribution of other research mechanisms for this purpose seems to be rather limited,

- direct response services are most commonly an in-house local government responsibility (in six countries),

- rapid response servicing is considered to be a major CENTRAL government responsibility in Australia, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal; and as a major responsibility within LOCAL government in Australia, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands and the U.K. Elsewhere this service is notable by its absence, as shown by the generally low scores in the table, especially in the area of city/university cooperation,

- investigative studies appear as a major responsibility for central government in particular but the other institutional modes are also involved to some extent. A similar but more balanced pattern emerges with analytical research, where the spread of involvement is rather evenly distributed amongst the options available.

## PROBLEMS AND ADEQUACY OF THE EXISTING SITUATION

An open question completed the checklist by soliciting reasons why the current pattern of urban research for local government operates as it does in each country. Some specific possible impediments to urban reserach which might impact on the nature and scale of activities undertaken were given. These were commented upon with varying degrees of detail by respondants. The following observations have been selected as being indicative of the main areas of concern.

AUSTRALIA: Federalism, together with financial constraints, a time-lag in data availability, functionalism in government, and lack of metropolitan responsibility were seen as the main deterrents to an organised urban research effort. It was also noted that although skills and staff exist they are not always necessarily used effectively.

AUSTRIA: The most important impediments to urban research are related to communication problems,

political constraints and timescale differences. Communication between politicians, public servants and research staff is not always easy and responsibility for this is shared by all parties. Problems to be studied by researchers need to be clearly defined and research results must be transferable into the practice and management of local government. As research work often takes too much time to reach concrete results after a problem has been formulated, problem solving measures often need to be taken long before research results are available. It was also noted that research sponsored by big cities tends to dominate, leaving the particular problems of smaller communities somewhat neglected.

DENMARK: Local government is reluctant to apply research results to daily planning activities, largely because such research does not treat the real issues as seen by the politicians. Communication problems are considered to be enormous as there are great discrepancies in ways of thinking.

FRANCE: The prime weakness is considered to be the lack of suitably trained personnel. Financial constraints are seen as a pretext since where there is the will, the means are usually found.

NORWAY: Research has traditionally been considered as a central government responsibility and local authorities have been afraid of getting involved because of the costs involved. There has been a recent change in attitude however, and a 3 year and programme of urban research incorporating most universities and research institutes in Norway is now planned.

PORTUGAL: The main problem is not the lack of capabilities, institutions nor real needs, but rather the political will to implement. Unfortunately urban research tends to be thought of as a luxury by most local politicians.

SPAIN: There is a large dependence on central government, but change is taking place rapidly and many efforts will hopefully soon be consolidated.

SWEDEN: Main concerns are financial constraints and time-scale differences. Specialisation both within management and in universities is seen to be making the transfer of research results increasingly difficult. The tendency towards cross-disciplinary research also increases the need to "translate" findings in order to make them helpful to local politicians and administrators.

TURKEY: Research is limited and relatively new where

it exists, so that a base of accumulated knowledge of urban affairs is not yet established. University research has tended to focus on physical planning and squatter problems, in response to the excessive urban growth rates in recent years. Lack of basic data reinforces informal channels of information collection and modes of operation; and the severe financial problems of municipalities make research appear to be a luxury for them.

UNITED KINGDOM: The principal problems are seen to be:- lack of coordination on urban research within central government; the traditional functions of local government in providing services discourage a corporate approach and appreciation of urban research issues; analytical staff trained and experienced in the examination of urban policy issues are scarce and difficult to recruit; university based research in this field is often theoretical or general and not related to specific policy solutions.

In summarising the responses to this question, the most frequently recurring difficulties emerge as being political and financial constraints. However, as quoted, the extent to which research is considered to be a luxury item often depends on the political will of those involved. Providing good value for money, by making research more finely-tuned to local needs, is one way to gain more political acceptance. The extent to which applied research can, or wants to, accommodate the strict time-frame and political implications of local government decision-making does, however, seem to have limits which deserve investigation.

The second most commonly cited impediments to effective urban research were those of communication difficulties and differing time scales. It is in this area that direct city/university cooperation has perhaps most to teach in terms of the degree of success achieved in overcoming those barriers. Other problems mentioned with some frequency were those of personnel requirements (staff numbers and skills); institutional deterrents to a useful programme of research; and inadequate data availability.

## CONCLUSIONS

Responses to the checklist for contributions to this framework paper can only be considered as a first step towards understanding the differences and common problems being encountered in the field of urban research management in member countries. A skeleton of useful comparative information is now available and

there are already some clear pointers towards aspects deserving to be examined in more detail.

It seems that in fact city/university cooperation is not as widespread a phenomenon as it should be. The various case studies presented at the symposium hopefully illuminate some of the reasons why in some circumstances greater success has been achieved than elsewhere; what problems have been encountered and overcome in these experiences; and if there is a real demand for this type of service.

Questions which should be asked should therefore include:-

- why is direct city/university cooperation less widespread than other forms of urban research activity?

- what specific problems are inherent in this type of cooperation?

- are the returns sufficiently valuable to encourage more widespread experimentation with such arrangements?

- how extensively has this approach been tried? Has it been tried and subsequently abandoned, and, if so, why?

- is this type of cooperation taking place informally without receiving national or international attention?

- is some other form of cooperative effort more likely to be valuable in certain countries?

- what positive steps can be taken within the context of this OECD project to improve the situation?

## 3. WHITHER CITY-UNIVERSITY COLLABORATION?
## LESSONS FOR THE '80's.

Todd W. Areson, U.S.A.

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### OVERVIEW

This paper reviews the state of the art in city-university collaboration, particularly in applied urban research, and presents the prospects and challenges facing us in continuing these collaborations as we enter the 1980s. The state of the art is drawn basically from several large demonstrations that occured during the Sixties and the Seventies -- Ford Foundation's efforts in "Urban Extension" (late 1950s-mid 1970s), the HUD-funded Urban Observatory Program (1969-1977), and the National Science Foundation funded "Innovations Groups" (1971 to the present).

The intent of the paper is twofold: (1) to review what we have learned from these and other collaborative programmes; and (2) to suggest current prospects and issues to be faced in such continued collaborative efforts.

### I. FROM AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION TO URBAN EXTENSION

We can trace the beginning of federal government involvement in supporting a formal relationship between the university and the community to the establishment of land-grant colleges and universities in the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890. These granted land to states to establish higher education opportunities in agriculture, mechanic arts, and military tactics. The Hatch Act of 1887, underwrote the cost of agricultural experiment stations at the land-grant institutions, and the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 further established the system we know as "cooperative extension services," designed to promote current developments in agriculture among the agricultural community. Of course, the land-grant colleges were established in 1862, when almost 85 percent of the nation's population lived in rural communities.

Today, roughly 70 percent of the U.S. population lives in metropolitan areas. For the past 15 years or so, one focus of some of our nation's colleges and universities has been on metropolitan or urban problems and concerns, and establishing a relationship analogous -- in spirit and in name -- to agricultural extension, namely urban extension. These collective efforts have become more concerted since the mid Sixties, when a number of our cities suffered riots and were burned (and the ill-defined term "urban crisis", if not the urban crisis itself, came into being). The idea of urban extension has been that the university would train urban extension agents to work in cities and bring to urban concerns a similar kind of assistance that county agents have brought to farmers, through agricultural extension. In sum, the fruits of academic knowledge and research would be put to practical use by helping to address the city's increasing difficulties.

But the recent history of urban extension has seen mixed results, and, in retrospect, we can agree that the idea was oversold. Bill Pendleton of the Ford Foundation succinctly summarises the main reasons for differences in the degree of success between agricultural extension and urban extension as follows:

"Perhaps the most significant contrast is the disproportion between the job to be done and the resources available for doing it. Well funded by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and generous state legislatures, each state's farm extension service commanded sufficient high-quality staff, who received adequate support for publications and staff services. In addition, its mission was clear. This was to enhance the productivity of American agriculture by disseminating the fruits of a solid research system. Its target (the farmer and his family) was also obvious and its accomplishments were measurable."

"Now consider the dramatically different situation facing the proponents of urban extension. The charge to the urban agent was ambiguous and complex -- somehow to tackle the problems of the city. It was never clear what the target was (certainly not the inner-city family), and the indicators of success were not even specified, let alone measured. The agent's resources, also, were miniscule when stacked up against the job. By that I mean not only financial support, but more fundamentally, urban research. There was a pitifully small amount of it in 1960 and it provided precious little understanding of the problems the agent faced, or guidance as to what to do about

them. In a sense, urban extension was at least a decade ahead of its time and imposed a virtually immpossible task on its participants." (Pendleton, 1974).

## II. RECENT HISTORY IN COLLABORATIVE URBAN EXTENSION

Three sizable demonstrations in city-university collaboration are presented and reviewed in this section to reflect similar efforts in urban extension and to review the lessons we have learned as a result of their existence. These three programmes : the Ford Foundation's "Urban Extension" experiment, the HUD funded "Urban Observatory Program", and the National Science Foundation funded "Innovations Groups", can in no way represent the innumerable collaborations that have occurred over the past 15 or 20 years, and thus this paper does not qualify as a fully-fledged state of the art report. Nevertheless, the similarity of their undertakings, and particularity of their findings and conclusions, should provide strong support for their reliability as object lessons in both the failures and successes of urban extension.

### a). The Ford Foundation's Urban Extension Experiment

Between the late 1950s and the mid-1970s, the Ford Foundation spent over $36 million to promote university scholarship that would be directly useful to city decision-makers in addressing a myriad of municipal concerns. This expenditure was grounded in two fundamental beliefs:

(1) that universities had the resources for teaching and research that could make a substantial difference in the problems cities were facing; and

(2) that the deterioration of urban areas could be slowed if only university faculty and students were brought into contact with city officials and staff.

The Foundation's objectives were two:

(1) to promote research on a wide range of urban problems by scholars from various academic disciplines; and

(2) to promote closer contact between university scholars and city decision-makers, in order that research results could be applied

directly to fundamental city problems.

The universities involved were either large state universities (e.g., Rutgers, Wisconsin, Illinois, Oklahoma) or the more prestigious private universities (e.g., Harvard, MIT, Princeton, Cornell, Rice, Vanderbilt).

Pendleton summarises these efforts as producing no "startling breakthroughs...in our understanding of how cities operate; what makes them grow or whither; what produces conflict or harmony; and what the keys are to successful government, citizen participation, and efficient delivery of services...We still know depressingly little about the dynamics of urban change, nor has research produced many conclusions that are useful to mayors, councilmen, and national urban policy makers." (Pendleton, 1975).

The first part of Pendleton's critique focusses on generalised learnings about cities, and learnings in the abstract. This was also an expectation in the Large-City Urban Observatory Program (i.e., that a "science of cities" could be produced by conducting comparative research projects in America's major cities). While this expectation may have seemed realistic early on in urban extension, it was subsequently found to be unrealistic in practice and difficult to construct.

Further on in his critique, Pendleton seems to acknowledge this by referring to "the very complexity of the city itself and the rate at which it changes -factors that make the study of urban phenomena incredibly difficult" (Pendleton, 1975). In the Large-City Urban Observatory Program, local agenda were considered more relevant by each Observatory (because of their direct application to a locally defined problem) than the required national agenda. Furthermore, eight of the ten Observatory cities involved were dissatisfied with the comparative research built into the programme because, amongst other reasons, they believed that research - by searching for common needs among diverse cities - would, by definition, not focus on the more pressing needs of any one city. (Greenleigh Associates Inc., 1974).

The second criticism that Pendleton offers is about the lack of utility of the research conclusions. While proposed primarily as a criticism of the universities that produced the research, (and in that respect it may well be on target,) this could alternatively be construed as a criticism of the cities i.e. that somehow they were unable to

capitalise on the research conclusions presented them. (This hypothesis is offered by Peter Szanton in his book, Not Well Advised (Szanton) and discussed in greater detail in Section III.)

Other difficulties and problems contributing to the uneven success of the Ford Foundation's Urban Extension experiment, as related by Pendleton, include the following:-

(1) the inability of the urban researchers to derive a useful definition of "urban research," much less the scope and meaning of such branches as urban economics, urban politics, and the like;

(2) the complexity and changing nature of the city, previously cited;

(3) the turbulence on American campuses in the late 1960's and problems resulting from students' demands;

(4) the fact that both the Foundation and the universities exaggerated their capabilities as well as underestimated the obstacles they would encounter; and

(5) the fact that universities are educational institutions, while cities are political institutions and as such they do not work well together for several reasons, i.e.-

(a) city officials look for answers that are specific and will work, while university researchers seek answers that are general and true;

(b) each one - the city official and the university researcher - has his or her own jargon, which fact obstructs their basic communication about research projects;

(c) city officials want (i.e. are rewarded for) a solution that works, while university researchers advance by publishing in academic (read: theoretical) journals;

(d) the time frames are different: researchers work on a semester or academic year, while city officials operate in days or, perhaps, weeks;

(e) cities generally do not budget for research projects, while university researchers seldom work for free; and

(f) neither the city official nor the university researcher knows much about, or is comfortable in, his or her counterpart's institution.

Both its previous substantial investments ($36 million) in collaborative urban research, and its evaluaton of the Urban Extension experiment as a "disappointing performance", led the Ford Foundation in the mid-1970's to drop from further consideration any continued support of these extension efforts.

In retrospect, the Ford Foundation experience was a broad-based undertaking of the practice of urban extension, and served as a valuable forerunner to the city-university collaborations and programmes that would follow. Moreover, through its experiment, the Foundation helped to define and set expectations for what was practical (partially by discovering the impractical), and what was achievable (though difficult) in urban extension efforts.

b). The Urban Observatory Program

1. History and Structure.

The HUD-supported Urban Observatory Program (1967-1977) started evolving out of several situations: (a) a growing belief (also evident to the Ford Foundation) during the late 1950s and early 1960s that the application of the scientific approach to the conditions and problems of urban America would enable local policy- makers to address day-to-day and long-term problems; (b) Dr. Robert C. Wood's 1962 paper suggesting the "urban observatory" concept (akin to the field stations and observatories employed so effectively by natural scientists); and (c) the reaction of several large-city mayors to Wood's paper and their request for a follow-up conference, which established the existence of some common interests among mayors and researchers. The decision to fund such a program through a federal agency (HUD) was, perhaps, as much coincidental as naturally evolving, in that three years of numerous discussions elapsed between the follow-up conference and HUD's decision to develop and test the concept. Dr. Wood was an Under Secretary at HUD during the final discussions, negotiations, and subsequent funding of the initial Urban Observatory demonstration.

In any event, the Observatory demonstration was designed to meet three objectives:

(a) to address, with university resources, the perceived research needs of city policy and administrative officials, particularly as such research may be useful for understanding and solving urban and metropolitan problems;

(b) to advance university capabilities to relate research and training activities more effectively to practical urban problems and needs; and

(c) to test the hypothesis that cities and universities both benefit from their Observatory relationship.

As such, the Urban Observatory Program was a collaborative relationship strictly between cities and their local universities, (unlike the Innovations Groups to be discussed later) and is best conceptualised as two demonstrations. The first, from 1969 to 1975, involved 10 cities with populations over 250,000; the second, from 1975 to 1977, replicated the Urban Observatory concept in 10 smaller cities with populations between 30,000 and 200,000.

The Large-City and Smaller-City Urban Observatories (as they were referred to) were similar in that they: (a) were locally organised by the participating cities and universities; (b) had policy boards composed of prominent city and university officials to oversee their operations; (c) were located in city hall, a university, or outside both; (d) had research agendas determined by city officials; and (e) received contributions from participating cities and universities, as well as from HUD, for the costs of conducting the research and generally operating the programme. All decisions were locally determined and implemented.

Other than the differences in city size of the two demonstrations, the major difference between them was that, unlike the Smaller-City demonstration, the Large-City programme required that each Observatory work on programme-selected national research agenda IN ADDITION TO the locally selected agenda. This requirement was dropped in the Smaller-City Program for several reasons:- its costs; its lesser interest to city officials than local agenda; and the sheer complexity of designing and managing the national research projects.

The research topics in the two demonstrations have been varied, including charter revisions, zoning, recreation needs, animal control, citizen attitudes, citizen participation, assessment policies, emergency medical services, problems of the elderly and social service delivery systems. Problems related to community and economic development, public works, transportation, employment and labor, finances, energy, land use and development, and municipal administration were also addressed.

2. Lessons Learned.

As a result of the two Urban Observatory demonstrations, several lessons were learned and deserve to be highlighted. They are categorised here as learnings about:- cities' assessments of R & D needs; the Urban Observatory director's role as a broker; differences in institutional perspectives, and reward structures etc.; chances for implementation of the research; performance standards; and factors affecting institutional stability.

CITIES' ASSESSMENTS OF R & D NEEDS. After equating the researcher's semantics of "applied research" with such normal city functions as planning, problem-solving, policy analysis, and policy development, the Observatory experience demonstrated that most cities do not have a systematic process for determining their needs for reliable and timely information. One benefit to the cities of the Observatories having annual research agendas was, therefore, the establishment of a process for identifying needs and problems, and to set priorities amongst them.

THE URBAN OBSERVATORY DIRECTOR AS BROKER. The director's role required him or her to serve as a liaison between the two communities (city and university), as well as between members of the two communities. For example, the director played a key role in getting the annual research agenda set; in arranging for the appropriate university expertise to address the problems which city officials selected; in maintaining communication amongst the city staff and project staff throughout the research; and in deciding how best (and to whom) to present the results to ensure that the results and recommendations would stand the best chance for city officials' consideration and, presumably, implementation.

INSTITUTIONAL DIFFERENCES. Cities are less interested in WHY something doesn't work than in HOW to make it work, i.e. they need data that are specific, immediate, and solution-oriented.

Universities are more interested in analysing why something does not work, i.e. in explanatory data. (These were previously mentioned to by Bill Pendleton in reference to the Ford Foundation's Urban Extension experiment.) The research studies which were most successful in providing useful information to city policymakers, then, were those: (a) in which there was a clear CONSENSUS by city officials and researchers on the study's goals and objectives, and (b) where the researchers CONFORMED to both the schedule and cost limits which ensured the study's utility to its city users.

As researchers became increasingly involved in the programme, they discovered the necessity of providing city administrators and legislators with concrete, manageable recommendations and options--if they expected some form of implementation of these recommendations. They also learned that, in spite of their unique perspectives and best intentions, only politically accountable city officials should set priorities amongst identified municipal problems and needs, since that process is, by definition, political. Further, they learned - to their chagrin and their detriment - that the university usually does not recognise this applied research as part of its research requirements unless, in addition, they write up the research and have it published in a "recognised," i.e. refereed, academic journal.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS. Even when there is a consensus on research goals and objectives, and agreement on the project schedule and cost, there is no guarantee in the political arena that sound, objective recommendations will be implemented. Considerations which usually take precedence include:- (a) the fiscal and political feasibility of implementing proposed solutions or actions (political feasibility may involve a change in city administrations, which often guarantees a consequent change in perceived priorities, if not a wholly different valuation of the collaborative research venture itself!); (b) the relevance of the solution(s) when the research has been completed (i.e. is it as "hot" a priority now as it was when selected?); and (c) the timeliness of undertaking the implementation (e.g. are key people now tied up in the budgetary process, or involved in some other "crisis"?).

PERFORMANCE STANDARDS. For the collaborative relationship to be valued over several years, particularly beyond a single administration or council, performance standards must be rigorous. For example, the research can be controversial only if it is also apolitical, and conducted by professionally

objective standards. So, pet projects of the mayor can be undertaken only with a mutual agreement to conduct the study and "let the chips fall where they may." (Even in this situation, political sense may dictate abandonment of the study as a no-win proposition.)

FACTORS AFFECTING INSTITUTIONAL STABILITY. Several of the findings from the two demonstrations concern institutional stability. City-university relationships, if institutionalised in something like an Observatory (as opposed to being created as an ad hoc relationship) are more likely to be continued or institutionalised if the following conditions hold:- (a) all partners make some financial contribution to the relationship; (b) the directorship is a full-time position; (c) the policy board is comprised of high-level officials from the participating institutions; (d) the university (or participating divisions or schools) has a local orientation; (e) the research results are usable, (i.e. concrete and manageable) by the appropriate city officials; (f) there is access to both city data and personnel; (g) the results are presented in a format suggested and most readily usable by the affected city officials; and (h) the city officials involved are receptive to new ideas.

c) The Innovations Groups and Networks

1. History and Structure.

The evolution during the 1970s of the Innovations Groups and Science and Technology Networks, supported by the National Science Foundation (NSF), grew out of the same circumstances which had helped to create the need for an Urban Observatory Program. While several federal agencies began a series of programmes in the 1960's to help alleviate urban problems that had become especially apparent during the decade, their programmes had to be designed aong functional lines (e.g. urban renewal, community development, waste water treatment facilities) to correspond to the agencies' stated missions. As a result, these agencies were hampered in contributing to comprehensive local government management and problem-solving.

Unlike other federal agencies with congressionally determined missions and corresponding objectives, NSF has a charter which permits a broad-based scientific orientation. This allowed the establishment of an inter-disciplinary programme drawing upon the scientific and technological expertise available in the nation's industries,

universities, colleges, and other R & D organisations for application to state and local government problems. In retrospect, the serial establishment of the Innovations Groups and networks that have come into existence through NSF's support during the past decade has been both exploratory and incremental (as opposed to intentional) in design. It has served to provide several working models for collaborative applied research:- industry-city; academic public service; voluntary public service; and self-initiated change. What follow are examples of each model.

INDUSTRY-CITY MODEL. In 1971, the California Four Cities Program provided each participating city and city manager's office with a science advisor from an aerospace company. The advisor's job was to identify problems potentially amenable to technological solution.

ACADEMIC PUBLIC SERVICE MODEL. In 1972, three universities (including, Auburn and Oklahoma State), operating on the U.S. Department of Agriculture's well-established practice of agricultural extension, appointed extension agents (scientists) in the universities to examine local government problems, help find solutions using university resources, and generally disseminate and transfer these solutions to other nearby communities, through demonstrations and other means.

VOLUNTARY PUBLIC SERVICE MODEL. Also in 1972, the city of Philadelphia established a Mayor's Science and Technology Advisory Council, and brought local scientific experts, on a voluntary basis, into city hall to address specific problems from an interdisciplinary perspective. This same model was used in Milwaukee in 1975, and a variation of it in Rochester, New York, in 1976.

SELF-INITIATED CHANGE MODEL. In the early 1970's, the city manager of Tacoma, Washington placed a technology coordinator (the forerunner of the Technology Agent of the Urban Technology System, to be discussed shortly) in city hall as a broker, to identify problems and match them with the capabilities of area institutions, whether private industry, federal government, or universities.

NATIONAL TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER NETWORKS. On the basis of the success of the California Four Cities model, NSF established the experimental Urban Technology System (UTS) in July 1973. UTS was the first of three national networks created to link local governments with available scientific and technological resources.

Three features of this system (encompassing 27 cities with populations between 50,000 and 500,000) were : (1) a local Technology Agent (serving as an in-house broker); (2) back-up technical organisations (R & D organisations - one third of which were universities, one third non-profit R & D centers, and one-third private industries - whose resources were used); and (3) a local government oriented institution (Public Technology, Inc.) to manage it.

In the following year (1974), NSF created the Urban Consortium composed of the nation's 28 largest cities and 6 urban counties, to address the R & D needs of the major urban jurisdictions (having populations over 500,000). And, in 1977, the Community Technology Initiatives Program (CTIP) became the third of these networks, comprising cities with populations of under 50,000.

With the establishment of CTIP, NSF had in place a national system of networks involving all sizes of local government (both cities and counties), intentionally designed to address the common R & D needs of the participating jurisdictions. An operating assumption for all three networks has been that, by addressing problems common to several jurisdictions, other local governments facing similar problems will gain from the solutions designed. In essence, in addition to research, the networks undertake for other local governments the risk-taking (both economic and political) not normally allowed local governments. Upon completion of their R & D, these networks provide local governments with solutions that can be adapted to particular local circumstances.

REVIEW AND SUMMARY. There are currently three NATIONAL networks (the 36-member Urban Consortium, the 32-member urban Technology System, and the 32-member CTIP), five MULTI-STATE (i.e. regional) Innovations Groups, and five STATE Innovations Groups - all of which form part of a loosely confederated national innovation network. The local government public interest groups (i.e., the National League of Cities, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the International City Management Association, and the National Association of Counties) serve as support institutions in this national network. Their primary role is to retrieve, document and disseminate to their members, the effective practices and programmes that result from the work of network participants and other member jurisdictions.

2. Lessons Learned.

Lessons learned from both the operation of the Innovations Groups and Networks over the past nine years, and from the literature on innovation in local government, can be summarised under five headings:-network planning and design; the role of the technology agent (broker); "useful" technology; the local operating environment; and network operations. (Mercer and Woolston, 1979)

NETWORK PLANNING AND DESIGN. The Innovations Groups and Networks have provided the institutional structure within which innovation in local government could occur by stimulating the aggregation of common needs, promoting cooperative problem-solving, and spreading the risks for uncertain ventures. It usually takes from six months to a year to plan the network's operation, and from three to seven years to institutionalise it. (The latter finding corresponds to the three to five year period cited in the organisational development literature). Regional networks work best if they have an inter-governmental constituency. A link to state government (whether as client or as resource) is most critical given the inter-governmental nature of most major urban problems.

As is probably well known, university resources are seen as less accessible, since there are generally multiple points through which to gain access to them. Non-profit institutions are more accessible in this respect, since they are usually organised into problem-solving units. As for the private sector, several natural constraints or "tensions" exist:- (a) a company's need to market its product, versus a government's need for an unbiased approach to problem-solving; (b) the possibility of giving a "competitive edge" to the company involved with a local government; and (c) limitations to the free services and consulting that a company can provide. Where Federal laboratories are involved, there are different constraints:- (i) there is no national policy to govern the relationship with either the public or private sectors; (ii) there are statutory limitations on the amount of work Defence Department laboratories can perform for non-defence agencies; and (iii) neither incentives nor funding are readily available for personnel to get involved in these efforts.

The proximity of the resource institutions to the local government is important to both the ongoing interaction and the results. The local government involved should have a demonstrated receptivity to new approaches and improvements. Top management's commitment to the network's objectives is equally

important here. Finally, the innovations groups must be "client-driven", i.e. the local governments that benefit from their work should set the priorities and establish the network's policies.

THE ROLE OF THE BROKER. The broker or "change agent" is the key to transferring technology into the public sector. He or she serves as a catalyst--to identify a need, define specifications which a solution must meet, locate the appropriate technology, help effect the transfer, and maintain support of the project until it has become institutionalised. This role is similar to that of the director in the Urban Observatory Program. Other similarities include independence from daily operations (i.e. a full-time position) to perform the brokerage function; close proximity (both physically and organisationally) to the chief executive; time to establish rapport and good working relationships with departments and their managers; and frequent inter-action with other brokers (technology agents).

One important finding here, not looked at in the Urban Observatory Program, is that the broker should have a scientific (as opposed to a generalist) background and skills. This will serve to increase the chances for successful transfer.

Finally, with regard to one university programme involving both on-site and "circuit-riding" brokers, it was found that on-site brokers who worked with a single government accomplished more long-range, in-depth assistance than those who worked with several jurisdictions simultaneously.

"USEFUL" TECHNOLOGY. The best technology is the appropriate technology. It should be :- developed to the point where it is ready for application; available when needed, upon user demand; separable into components, and therefore less threatening to implement; and understandable to those who will use it. This last point cannot be over-emphasised. Unless the officials responsible for implementing a solution can understand that solution and its utility to them, the most technically correct and/or sophisticated technology will be of no use to local government, its officials or its citizens.

THE LOCAL OPERATING ENVIRONMENT. By definition, local governments usually operate as if they were autonomous (though part of the inter-governmental system). They are more highly labour intensive than efficiency-oriented; they offer few if any incentives for innovation; and their officials manage from crisis to crisis, with little time to examine underlying

problems in depth. Frequent barriers to innovation include:- (a) a lack of both employee awareness of available technology and employee expertise to adopt new technology, and (b) a lack of financial resources to fund needed technical assistance or training. Factors such as political, economic, and social considerations must, of course, also be accounted for in addition to the technology itself.

NETWORK OPERATIONS. The initial activity that a local government network should perform is an assessment of problems and needs. Its second activity should be the creation of an agenda based upon common needs. It is important, in conjunction with the agenda-setting, to aim toward early pay-offs (i.e. likely successes) and to document their costs and benefits. This form of documentation serves to increase the levels of commitment and participation by local governments and their officials. Adaptation of an existing solution is almost always required, either to better fit local circumstances, or to put the local stamp of ownership on the solution! Most important here is the fact that it usually requires personal contact to disseminate a proven solution from one local government to another. Written documentation (e.g., technical briefs) is useful for raising another government's awareness of a particular solution, but insufficient to cause replication of the solution by that other government.

## III. A NEW AND RADICAL HYPOTHESIS.

Reference has already been made to the mixed results of the city-university (or urban extension) experience to date and, in particular, to the Ford Foundation's conclusion that the applied research and services conducted through its urban extension experiment produced little in the way of useful findings and recommendations for mayors, council members, and city staff.

In 1976, as a result of the Foundation's extensive promotion and support for useful university research and analysis of urban problems, its officers requested an assessment of the apparently useless (or at least unused) advice provided to city officials by university researchers and consultants. Regardless of the diversity of forms which this advice took, (i.e. whether an institutional response e.g. creating a center for urban affairs to design more effective programs; applied research on real or imagined problems; or specific or vague advice grounded in one

or several disciplines)....

> "...Strikingly little of the advice generated by academics had the intended effect, or indeed any effect, on cities...The experience as a whole has, therefore, been generally accounted a failure.
>
> The reasons for these results, moreover, have been thought to be fairly clear: the academy... was simply an unsuitable setting for the production of timely, specific and practical advice, and for casting it in terms city officials could absorb." (Szanton).

Peter Szanton, who conducted the Foundation's reappraisal, does not disagree with the failure rating given the urban extension experience. However, he does consider the classical explanation for that failure to be oversimple:-

> "The explanation that far better fits the facts... is that city governments are particularly weak and constrained users of any advice, and sharply limited in their capacity to act on recommendations for change". (Szanton).

In his reappraisal, Szanton began with the Foundation's experience in urban extension, but included an assessment of a variety of other collaborative efforts, including the Large-City Urban Observatory Program, the Urban Information Systems Consortium (funded by HUD and known as USAC); the Urban Technology System (UTS); several city efforts (in Cincinnati; Oakland (California); New York; and Pittsburgh); Arthur D. Little in San Francisco; New York City-RAND Institute; and the Los Angeles Technical Services (LATS) Corporation.

Szanton elaborates on his hypothesis as follows:

> "But a wider body of evidence suggests strongly that the binding constraint on the use by local government of external advice and expertise is not any shortage or defect in the supply of good ideas. It is the limited ability and weak incentives of local officials to seek, absorb, and attempt to apply such ideas, given the political bureaucratic, and fiscal limitations they face. Improvement in the "supply" side of the relationship, in short, can be helpful and may be necessary, but it will rarely prove sufficient. More efficient urban services and more effective urban policies require either that the "consuming" side of the advice relationship gains

> the capacity to use the advice available, or that the producing side radically expands its role and responsibilities." (Szanton).

As a direct consequence of his analysis and conclusion, Szanton proposes that university (and other) advice-givers need to do one thing which they may not already be doing when consulting with cities. This is to take principal responsibility for inventing, testing, refining, and even paying for the means to accomplish the agreed-upon goal.

Whereas in the classical model of advice-giving, the adviser analyses a problem, reaches a conclusion, presents the conclusion to the decision-maker, and then withdraws, Szanton concludes that:

> "...In the realm of urban innovation, the adviser who intends to help must compensate for the deficiencies of the advised--providing the funds for tests or experiments the city agency cannot pay for; substituting his own self-discipline for the client's incapacity to monitor his work; and providing the political protection and managerial support this peculiarly vulnerable client may require." (Szanton).

Upon comparison and reflection, these "requirements" are strikingly akin to the central elements of the Innovations Groups and Networks in their transfer of appropriate technologies amongst local governments.

Finally, Szanton highlights three specific lessons for university and other urban consultants here:

1. Expect to receive less guidance than you need. In fact, you may need to clarify and even redefine the statement of the problem. Guidance on alternative solutions and existing institutional constraints (political, managerial, and fiscal) will probably be poorly developed if provided at all. In short, find a way to get the guidance you need, and early on.

2. Like it or not, expect to become engaged in politics. Your work, unless trivial, will suggest shifts in power, responsibility, roles, and resources. As a result, prepare to find your results attacked (or misrepresented), your motives questioned, your costs scrutinised and your methods derided.

3. If your advice proposes a substantial change,

expect that the change won't be accomplished unless you are prepared to devote the time and effort necessary to implement that change.

## IV. Some Issues for Further Consideration

Listed below are some issues that will need to be addressed at some point in the course of collaboration between city and university. They are important to the success of the endeavour, however you define "success" and are presented under four headings:- the relationship, cities, universities, and federal government. The issues are neither exhaustive nor, probably, resolvable in the abstract.

### The Relationship:

1. How will you define "success" for the collaborative effort....by its continuation, institutionalisation (i.e. "routinisation"), or some other criterion?

2. How can you best ensure continuation or institutionalisation of the collaborative relationship?

3. Should there be a national effort to create more such city-university relationships?

4. How important in the relationship is the role of the broker/director/technology agent/ liaison?

### Cities:

5. Does it benefit the city to use the university to help define and carry out local research agenda, training and service needs?

6. What mechanism(s) can you use (and institute) to ensure that the right university researchers connect with the right city officials?

7. How do you make officials in the city aware of the variety of appropriate resources available to them through the university?

8. How do you convince city officials that funds spent on good applied research is cost-

effective and thus well-spent, particularly before the project has been conducted or funded?

9. Can you expect university researchers to keep city officials abreast of solutions and technologies already available? and can you expect them to assist in the adaptation and implementation of those solutions and technologies of interest to city officials?

Universities

10. Is it to the benefit of the university to serve the applied research, training and service needs of its local government?

11. How do you adequately address an urban problem that ranges over several academic disciplines, using researchers trained in single disciplines?

12. See #6 above.

13. See #7 above.

14. Is it possible to formally train that rare breed who can conduct competent research, yet who also understands and operates comfortably in the "untidy reality" of urban problems?

15. How do you reward a university researcher who contributes to the solution of a local problem if the university's reward structure does not account for this in pay raises, promotion, and tenure?

Federal Government

16. Is there an appropriate role (e.g. funding, disseminating information on federally supported programmes) for the federal govenment to play either in helping to start other city-university collaborations, or in supporting the continuation of existing collaborations?

17. On what topics (e.g. a review of the literature; appropriate roles for universities) would it be useful to have federally sponsored research with respect to city-university collaborations?

## NOTES

1. This section is summarised from two speeches by William C. Pendleton of the Ford Foundation,: URBAN STUDIES AND THE UNIVERSITY, (Ford Foundation, New York, April 1974) and UNIVERSITY/CITY RELATIONS REVISITED, (Ford Foundation, New York, April 1975).

2. This information has been synthesised from: Williams, L.A. et al, (1975), FINAL REPORT: URBAN RESEARCH AND METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY SERVICES GROUP SYSTEM (URBAN OBSERVATORY PROGRAM), National League of Cities, Washington D.C.

3. These findings and conclusions are drawn primarily from: Areson, T.W. et al, (1978), FINAL REPORT: SMALLER CITY URBAN OBSERVATORY PROGRAM, National League of Cities, Washington D.C.

4. This section is based primarily upon: Mercer, J.L. and Woolston S.W. (1979), THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY NETWORK: A NATIONAL SYSTEM - EVOLUTION, CHARACTERISTICS, AND LESSONS LEARNED, National Science Foundation, Washington D.C.

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## 4. FORMS OF CITY/UNIVERSITY COOPERATION IN TURIN.

G. Chiezzi, Italy.

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### 1. THE PROBLEMS OF THE TURIN URBAN AREA

Over the course of the past few years the City of Turin has committed itself to seeking continuing forms of cooperation of mutual interest with the University. Before discussing the forms taken by this collaboration and the concrete results that have been achieved, I consider it useful to give a brief account of the "why" of this commitment. It derives from:

(i) the ROLE assigned to "local authorities" (local government institutions elected by the residents);

(ii) the social, economic and territorial PROBLEMS with which Turin has to cope;

(iii) the political CHOICES which, in the view of the city administration, can enable these problems to be solved.

#### (i) The Role

As a result of the claims made for years by progressive elements for a more democratic organisation of the state, a decentralisation process is now under way in Italy. The state has ceded some important legislative and administrative powers to local authorities : Regions, Provinces, "Comprensori" and Communes (towns) are now the institutional bodies responsible for economic and land use programming. The Region and the "Comprensori" have to work out their own Development Plan and in harmony with this, the Commune has to approve the urban development instruments which regulate and encourage changes in land use. These are new tasks which demand a capacity for government to adapt to the complexity of the problems.

#### (ii) The Problems

The City of Turin (see Appendix A) is at the centre of one of the three big industrial

concentrations in Northern Italy (Milan, Turin, Genoa). The growth of the FIAT motor company, (which now employs 124.000 workers in the Turin area alone, with 46,000 concentrated in the single Mirafiori plant) and that of hundreds of small and medium firms and workshop activities associated with it, has caused massive immigration from the poorest areas of Italy, particularly the south, to the Turin area. This has brought congestion and pollution to Turin and depopulation and consequent impoverishment of economic activity to the south.

Between 1951 and 1961 Turin grew by 300,000 people, and by a further 200,000 between 1961 and 1971. This prolific growth took place outside any public programming or control, the city spreading like an oil stain. Municipal activity was not controlled or directed towards constructing an urban environment in which, besides housing, other requirements of civilised life would have been provided: open spaces, schools, carparks, social services, and shops.

It was a period in which the major industries, their apologists, and the executives which administered the City,were of the view that this development, even if spontaneous and chaotic, would improve the general well-being and find within itself the resources necessary for resolving the problems it created.

It was during this period that migrant housing estates were built. These came to be known as "dormitories", because there was little one could do there but sleep. In addition to the lack of public and social services there were all the difficulties associated with the meeting of different cultures. This occurred rapidly and under conditions which were scarcely favourable for mutual understanding. The social problems are less acute today, but have not yet been completely eliminated. There has been a certain measure of social integration : one no longer sees in the "to let" advertisements, "southerners need not apply", as was common in the fifties.

Over the course of the past few years there has been an effort on the part of the Turin admininstration to reduce the social malaise in those districts where it is most acute. Throughout the city, but especially in these disadvantaged districts, forces favouring community life have been created, (for example theatres, films, concert performances; family counselling centres have been set up; meeting places for the young and the old, shopping centres, clinics, sports facilities and open spaces have been provided; public transport has been improved; and in

cooperation with the schools, recreational and cultural activities have been organised both during the school year and in the summer holidays.)

These initiatives have started to bear fruit (juvenile delinquency has fallen slightly), but in order to eliminate situations of social and territorial marginalisation, an effort lasting several years will be required, and not just on the part of the Turin administration but of the whole society. This is possible. There is now a large group of political, economic and social forces which recognise the damage caused to the city by this kind of uncontrolled development and which call for the implementation of a real programming policy which is democratically run.

I set out here some considerations on the most urgent problems which the City of Turin has to solve:

(a) Housing and services

A recent study pointed out that it would be necessary to build 200,000 rooms in Turin to eliminate overcrowded conditions (by allowing one room for each inhabitant) and to renovate 120,000 dwellings at present in an unsanitary condition. The housing problem is thus very acute and is all the more difficult to resolve because Turin is one of the most densely built cities in Europe. There now remain very few vacant sites and these have been earmarked for the construction of services planned under the regional urban development law. In Turin today, each inhabitant has 8 m2 for open spaces, sports, carparks, schools, and social services; as against the 25 m2 per inhabitant provided for by the regional law as the necessary minimum for civilised urban life.

(b) Productive activities

Here the problem is one of rationalising the currently very disorganised distribution of these activities in the city. Dwellings and industries are invading the same land and causing mutual harm. Industries occupy the space that should be used for urban services and are, in certain cases, sources of pollution. In their turn the dwellings take away from the industries the space needed to expand or reorganise their activities. This applies particularly to small firms and workshops, which are often installed in the courtyards of residential buildings.

(c) Tertiary sector

In the tertiary sector, Turin must face up to the tendency of the richest activities (administrative offices, head offices of financial institutions, public bodies and specialist shops etc.) to concentrate in the central areas of the city, with a resulting impoverishment of the peripheral areas which are bereft of these activities and of services in general.

(d) Transport

The operational problems of the transport system are: the difficulty of carrying large numbers of people every day over an area of regional dimensions(Turin exerts an economic attraction over the whole region); and the fact that the current Turin transport system favours access to the centre, causing serious traffic congestion and further concentration of tertiary activities in the historic heart of the city.

(e) Protection of the environment

Finally, there are the problems arising from deterioration of the environment. These include decay of both the historic heritage, and deterioration of the natural environment (Turin Hill, the river banks) and the countryside. A quarter of the historic centre of the city is laid out on the original Roman road network and many old houses of remarkable architectural value are in need of restoration.

(iii) Policy Choices

Briefly, the most important policy choices which (in the opinion of the present City Administration) are capable of providing answers to the above problems in the interests of the majority of the inhabitants, are :

(a) reduce the economic, social and cultural attraction of Turin, and in particular its historic centre relative to the surrounding area, by encouraging services, tertiary activities and new employment to be established in peripheral areas.

(b) direct any further expansion of major

industries outside Turin;

(c) encourage particularly harmful industrial plants, or those occupying a lot of space in proportion to the number of workers, to decentralise;

(d) create urban development conditions within the city which favour the development and possible reconstruction of productive and tertiary activities which are to remain in the city;

(e) reorganise the city by creating on the outer fringes, a chain of important centres of urban life capable of providing a real alternative to the historic centre;

(f) find space for services in the 23 districts of the city, restore the decaying architectural heritage through publicly financed action and facilitate private renovations of a non-speculative nature;

(g) reorganise the system of communications and transport to reduce congestion; and strengthen the role of public transport.

On the basis of what has been outlined above, local authorities, and their executives responsible for administration, should have the capacity to orient economic and land use transformations towards these objectives. But to do this it is necessary to know how to use the available public resources efficiently and to make the private sector participate in the projected reorganisation of land use which lies at the base of the City of Turin and Piedmont Region proposals.

In order to control such a complex process it is not enough to express a political intention, it is also necessary to have the political capacity to realise the proposed objectives. I consider that this capacity derives from the relationship that is built up between city or regional administrations and the cultural, scientific and professional circles which operate within society. In particular a cooperative relationship between the City and the University is important. This can help in carrying out research into urban problems and should enable better control of the economic and social factors ruling change in large urban areas ( by providing a greater number of elements of scientific knowledge about the urban reality.)

This complex urban reality is, in its present state, unable to respond positively to the basic requirements of man and of civilised life; the desire to transform it and improve it; and the conviction that this is possible, (through to a policy which mobilises all economic and social forces disposed to work in the interest of the majority of the inhabitants.) The preceding three points help to explain the "why" of the effort made by the City of Turin (and summarised at the beginning of this paper), to find appropriate forms of cooperation between City and University. (The city has been governed since 1975 by a council formed by members of the Italian Communist and Socialist Parties.)

## 2. FORMS OF CITY COOPERATION

In this second section the relations between the Piedmont Region, the City of Turin and the University is examined, pointing out "what" the City (and the Piedmont Region) want from the University; "how", or by what means, cooperation has so far been implemented; and with what concrete results.

Simplifying somewhat, it can be said that the following experiments in cooperation are proceeding at the present time:

### (i) Region/University and Region/Polytechnic cooperation

In 1977 and 1978 the Piedmont Region drew up two similar "Outline Agreements" with the University and the Polytechnic (which includes the Faculties of Engineering and Architecture) of Turin, to officially regulate the aims of cooperation and fix the procedures to be followed. This Agreement serves as point of reference for the City.

### (ii) City/Polytechnic cooperation

On 21st November 1978, the City of Turin signed an Outline Agreement with the Polytechnic, similar to the one previously made by the Region. The first two articles contain the general aims of the cooperation.

The Polytechnic, within the framework of its own autonomy in working out programmes of activity, recognises the priority to be given to problems of research and professional courses in fields of social interest. Further, it undertakes to contribute to

these ends using its own structures and its own scientific and teaching organisation. The Agreement stipulates in particular that the City should propose research topics to the Polytechnic and that the latter, through its Administrative Council, and after having questioned its different Institutes, should entrust the work to one or more of them, favouring interdisciplinary studies and communicating the results to the City.

Up to now, this Outline Agreement has NOT been followed by a single ad hoc agreement for a concrete cooperative project.

Certain difficulties have been encountered. In particular, the procedure to be followed is extremely complex and gives rise to long "technical" delays.

The City has to make its request for cooperation to the Administrative Council of the Polytechnic, and the latter has to issue a sort of "invitation to tender" addressed to the different Institutes that might be interested. These, in turn, have to convoke their governing boards and decide whether to offer to carry out the research. The Administrative Council then has to examine all the proposals, decide to whom to give the work, and communicate the result to the City, which may finally put the proposal to the Municipal Council for approval.

Furthermore, there is no lack of delays due to the inevitable discussions on the choice of Institutes, (which are sometimes in competition with one another.)

All this makes cooperation with the City difficult to implement. The result is that the City often turns to the University to get answers to problems within relatively short time periods. To give a specific example, a year ago the City of Turin applied to the Polytechnic to have a census made of the "cultural assets" of the historic centre. A check was made of the amount of time required to allocate and carry out the survey, and this was found to be long. As the City needed to have the results available within a relatively short time, it decided to entrust the task to private specialists, who were able to produce the results quickly.

On the basis of this first experience, it seems to me that the Outline Agreement will have to be amended in the near future to ensure more immediate results from the cooperation.

For example, the City could be allowed to choose the Institute to which a piece of research is to be given, on the basis of a relationship of trust, and communicate this decision to the Administrative Council for approval.

If it is necessary to confirm the validity of an Outline Agreement which gives a common orientation to all aspects of cooperation between City and University; then it is also necessary to allow the City more say in choosing who is to carry out the research. I do not believe that this is likely to give rise to favouritism in relationships, as the decision must always be approved by the Municipal Council, where the views of both majority and minority groups are expressed.

(iii) City/University cooperation

Although no Outline Agreement has been drawn up with the University, following Municipal Council deliberations on 20th March 1979, the City of Turin entrusted the University of Turin, and through it the Economic Geography Laboratory of the Faculty of Economics and Commerce, with a mandate for consultation and collaboration on urban development in connection with the research and planning phases of the new Turin General Urban Development Plan.

The work programme comprises:

A. Industrial Sector

Taking into account the structure of enterprises and of the changes taking place, general and specific criteria for selecting the units to be retained in Turin, and those to be decentralised, are to be worked out. In order for such decisions to be made, various tasks had to be undertaken, including:-

(a) detailed analysis of the locational factors for each type of enterprise;
(b) analysis of intra-urban restructuring and relocation zones;
(c) determination of priority redevelopment areas;
(d) the mechanisms of intervention in these areas;
(e) connection with other land uses and with the transport network;
(f) in-depth studies of particular areas.

B. Upper tertiary sector

An analysis of the possibility of relocating upper tertiary units was carried out. This took into account functional requirements;
(a) the transport and communication networks; priority areas for intervention;
(b) the relevant urban development structure with respect to other land uses;
(c) in-depth studies of particular areas.

C. Service sector

An analysis of the connections between this sector and the changes envisaged in the business and employment structure of the urban area was necessary. This included defining the types of urban development intervention, and the relevant areas and conditions, (at both the local and city levels and extending the study already started for the Long-Term Action Programme (PPA)).

An analysis of the relationship between the social and residential mobility of the population and trends in the industrial and tertiary functions of the city, (at the level of the Commune as a whole and with in-depth studies for "problem" areas) was also necessary.

This work proceeded satisfactorily, and a few weeks ago the Municipal Council approved the Preliminary Draft Urban Development Plan.

The City of Turin and the University have not drawn up a general reference framework within which homogeneous forms of cooperation can be developed.

Concrete forms of cooperation have, nevertheless, been achieved. These have given good results within a space of time compatible with the requirements of the city admininstration.

With these forms of cooperation, the intention was to improve the relationships between City (Region) and University which in the past had been irregular and of a personal nature, or even involved favouritism, by making them durable, publishing their content and subjecting them to democratic control.

In these relationships the principal partner, (the City with its executive elected by the people) is clearly identified. If it is true that cooperative relationships are necessarily didactic, then the

University, once it has received a mandate from the City or the Region, can always have a propositional role in the definition of a project, enlarge the subject, or suggest specific in-depth studies. However, the political authority which establishes the relationship, the objectives, the time limits and the content of the research remains with the City.

There remains another problem which is important and ought to be studied more deeply. Cooperation with bodies outside the Commune, whether they be the University or other bodies, is sometimes criticised by municipal employees, who deplore the fact that in entrusting this work to independent bodies, full use is not made of professional competences which exist WITHIN the Commune. It is in fact difficult to establish cooperative relationships which really lead to cultural enrichment for Municipal Officers. In my opinion this point really ought to be one of the objectives of cooperation with the University.

Effective urban management also depends on the technical and cultural capacities of municipal and regional employees.

The technical staff of the City of Turin is numerically inadequate with respect to the work that ought to be done, especially in the urban development sector. The town planning department is composed of 11 engineers or architects; 8 surveyors; and 16 draughtsmen. As Turin has 1,200,000 inhabitants, there is a ratio of only 1 engineer to over 100,000 inhabitants.

The Commune and the Region have an Economic and Social Research Institute (IRES), which carries out certain studies at the regional level, but it cannot cover all the demands for information.

In short, it seems clear to me that the municipal structure is inadequate for the tasks that are incumbent upon it and that effective cooperation with the University is necessary in order to make up for certain shortcomings inherent in the municipal apparatus.

(v) Region/University Consortium for Automatic Data Processing.

The Piedmont Consortium for Automatic Data Processing is a public body formed by the Piedmont Region, the University and the Polytechnic of Turin.

Its task consists of the dissemination of techniques and the development of automatic data processing.

The Piedmont Region defined its relations with the Consortium in the law of 1st March 1978.

At present the Consortium is working on the following projects:

(a) the "Budget Project" for computer management of the budgets of Communes and other bodies, such as hospitals, transport authorities and other service bodies;

(b) the computer management of registry office services for communes;

(c) production of a "hydro-geological risk" map.

The Consortium is a fully operational body. It produces rapid and concrete responses to the demands of admininstrations and at the same time carries out research and professional training activities useful both to the University and to the staff of the Region and Communes. The objectives are well defined and the Consortium, which is only in the early stages of its activity, carries out the tasks entrusted to it efficiently.

(v) "Project Turin"

On the occasion of the Seventh Conference of Mayors of the World's Major Cities, which was held in Milan and Turin in April 1978, politicians, university teachers, social workers, and representatives of the unions, the magistrature and of industry presented reports in which the problems of the City were analysed from their different points of view.

The "Collaboration Centre for the World's Cities" (whose headquarters is in Milan), asked the City of Turin to prepare a research project based on the real life problems of Turin and to make it available to other interested cities on the occasion of the Ninth Conference in April 1980.

Under the patronage of the Communal Administration, a working party was formed, open to all those who had participated in the Conference. There were many volunteers for membership. The working party was formed by the Deans and Professors of four

university faculties, the President and several members of the National Urban Development Institute, and representatives of the unions and of industry, and chaired by the President of the Club of Rome, Mr. Aurelio Peccei and the Mayor of Turin, Mr. Diego Novelli. It also consisted of local government officers and municipal councillors, representatives of the City of Barcelona, research workers, and representatives of bodies sharing in the financing of the Region and the Province of Turin.

After having fixed some general long-term objectives, the working party decided to institute seven research studies, to be known as "Project Turin". The objective was to have a better knowledge of the City and its problems, as an essential prerequisite for controlling and directing the processes of development in urban systems.

The fact that the "political force" and the "techno-cultural force" should have come together on a basis of equality, although keeping their diversity of roles, competences and responsibilities is interesting. So too, is the fact that they have jointly decided on the research topics, blurring the distinction between the principal, (which remains the City), and those who were to carry out the research.

The working party agreed upon the following points: -

(a) Through this work, Turin would like to make its contribution to improving future life in large cities. We do not want to carry out abstract studies or theoretical research. The aim is to consider the City as a whole, in the conviction that once constructed, the urban structure influences and conditions social relationships and the organisation of production, that have determined it.

(b) The process leading to the disintegration of the urban fabric and civilised life is not an abstract, objective force, but is based on certain economic, social and cultural relationships in society.

(c) The crisis currently afflicting large cities is not irreversible. It is possible to counter it, given the political will to do so. Conditions and forces exist which are capable of re-orienting the economic processes which determine development and change in the city. Local authorities constitute the essential

focal points for resolving the problem.

(d) The problems afflicting the City cannot be met and solved by operating from within the City only. It is necessary to link this reality to that of the external context (both Regional and National). In the case of Italy, we must think of relations between North and South, Town and Country. The problems of the city can only be solved by treating them as part of this larger context.

On the basis of these considerations it becomes possible to determine the role and dimension of Turin in relation to two socio-economic levels:- that of national programming; and that of Piedmont regional programming and planning.

A. General Objectives

The working party has also formulated the following general objectives:-

(a) regional balance must be restored by encouraging the development of important centres of urban life at several points in the region;

(b) in order to do this, the contribution to be made by the large city, given the economic resources at its disposal, is essential;

(c) at the same time, the city must restore the balance both within itself, and with respect to the immediately surrounding areas. The city must promote the process of decongestion which will allow reorganisation and administration of the "quality of urban life". The current" quality of life" will be described by surveys to be carried out.

The long-term objective of improving the quality of life involves organising the city according to its different urban functions (residential, servicing, industry and tertiary sector), in such a way as to provide the maximum possibilities for access and enjoyment of urban values for the whole population, wherever in the city or suburbs they live.

On the basis of these objectives, the areas of admininstrative, economic, social and cultural action where government could improve the quality of life in large cities were indicated.

B. Specific Objectives

Having defined this general framework, the working party decided to put forward some more limited objectives which might serve to determine the specific research projects to be carried out.

(a) A first objective was to describe how the city is changing. To this end the following four studies were decided upon:

(i) "Analysis of changes in socio-demographic structure and population flow characteristics", (study carried out by the "G. Solari" Institute of the Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Turin). This research was intended to provide a broad description of the resident population so that a "social atlas" of Turin could be produced. The aim was to extract additional information from the communes' registry office data, in order to better administer the area and make a more exact estimation of social service needs.

(ii) "The City frontiers: research on the social services with respect to urban marginalisation", (coordinated by the director of the "G. Solari" Institute of the Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Turin). This research was intended to monitor the effects of public intervention and social work, (through organising and implementing social services) on the living conditions of social groups subject to marginalisation processes and cultural deprivation. Particular emphasis is placed on areas with unbalanced land use.

(iii) "Research on the time bugets of the inhabitants of Turin", (coordinated by the Faculty of "Magistero" of the University of Turin). The intention of this research was to distribute questionnaires to a sample of 1,000 families and obtain a breakdown of the inhabitants' time budgets. This is a factor which can impact a great deal on inter-personal relations; those between family cells and social bodies, traffic flows, participation in political life, etc. Better employment of time and space by families is in fact one of the factors which contributes to improving the quality of urban life.

(iv) "Survey on the quality of life" (coordinated by the Dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences). The intention of this research was to analyse the quality of urban life in its many aspects, through the judgements made by the inhabitants of the large city on the quality of life that it offers. The survey was carried out by distributing a questionnaire to a sample of Turin families, asking for information about family budgets, social strategies, and social and political participation.

(b) The second objective was to find a new and positive relationship between the City and its productive activities, for the future of the city will also be conditioned by the manner in which industrial transformations proceed.

This objective led to the definition of a fifth research topic :

(v) "Industry and the tertiary sector in the Turin inner-city area: economic restructuring and relocation" (coordinated by the Professor of Financial Economics and Law in the Faculty of Economics and Commerce of the University of Turin). The intention of this research was to determine the possible use of areas that may be vacated by industry, because of the important role that these spaces may have in the renovation of the city. The present trend is in fact for such spaces to be occupied by tertiary activities. The aim was therefore to analyse the relationship between the secondary and tertiary sectors in order to be able to implement a policy of restoring socio-economic and land use equilibrium in the Turin area and the Piedmont Region.

(c) The third objective was to determine the "restructuring processes" through which the "critical size" of the City could be defined. This objective led to the definition of a sixth research topic :

(vi) "The critical size of the City" (coordinated by the Dean of the Faculty of Architecture of the Turin Polytechnic). The intention of this research was to demonstrate that the crisis situation in the quality of life and in the administrative capacity of a

city are not only connected with city size but that the concept of "critical size" is very complex and can be analysed in terms of the opportunities that the inhabitants have to express themselves in a constructive fashion and participate informally in the process of managing the city.

(d) The fourth objective was to determine the most effective forms of urban development programming. This objective led to the definition of a seventh research topic :

(vii) "Urban development plans and urban policy instruments" (coordinated by the Regional President of the National Urban Development Institute). The intention of this research was to demonstrate the relationship between the provision of urban development instruments and concrete administrative decisions in the recent history of the city. It examined the application of the urban development instruments and the financial resources directly committed by the city (for transport, infrastructure, and public works, etc.).

As at April 1980, the results of this research, contained in some 1500 pages, are not yet known. There is a 7-8 page summary for each research topic, and on the basis of these summaries and almost two years of practical experience it is possible for me to make a few observations at this stage.

The experiment has been interesting for the "form" of cooperation, which was simple and direct. The time taken to reach decisions was brief and discussions were frank and productive.

This research work is now producing important results but can still only constitute a point of departure rather than arrival, because of the size and complexity of the problems tackled.

In fact, one of the merits of "Project Turin" in my opinion is that it makes clear just how much more needs to be analysed and studied in the field of "urban problems". The subject is vast, complex and difficult to understand, so that the work done can only represent the first stage in a research effort that without any doubt should continue over the next few years.

With this work the City of Turin also issues an appeal to the other large cities of the world to engage in collaboration and discussion in order to exchange concrete experiences and, if possible, embark on new research programmes together.

As for the results, at least as far as one can say having only seen the summaries, they do not completely exhaust the topics treated. This may be due to several factors, amongst which is the insufficient time allowed to carry out this work.

In my opinion, one subject for reflection which arises is that some of the research topics were of a very general nature and consequently presented serious problems of analysis. This general nature resulted from the desire to examine the problems of the City as units. This desire came up against the complexity of the problems and I think it can be said, at least given the resources that we were able to mobilise, that there still remains a long way to go in order to achieve this objective.

It seems to me that another factor to be considered is that all this research could not be directed towards concrete objectives of government, even though carried out in the field.

In the next studies we undertake we shall take these considerations into account, and in any case this line of thought will be taken further when we examine the full research results. I think that it will be necessary to undertake many studies which will give more concrete answers to more concrete problems.

## 3. BASES FOR FURTHER WORK

On the basis of experience to date, it can no doubt be stated that, as a general rule, the City should not indulge in research activities. This does not fall within its province. The city does not possess the necessary instruments and to obtain them cannot be amongst its aims. The City has, in fact, projects to be undertaken on the basis of political hypotheses and it should more properly stick to these.

The University is, and should remain, the seat of scientific research activity.

Briefly, therefore, it seems to me that in a cooperative relationship with the City, from the point of view of the politician who uses the research results, this activity can be carried out in three ways:

(i) The City has its own policy for the different sectors of intervention. It makes the choices, puts forward hypotheses and pursues goals. I want to give a concrete example: the City of Turin has indicated that renovation of existing old buildings is a possible way of solving its housing problems. (27.7% of dwellings in the City have no toilet and 17.6% were built before 1919; in the historic centre 31% have no private toilet and 70% were built before 1919).

The City Administration wants to improve the dwellings and the urban environment without moving the present occupants (who belong to the low-income categories) permanently out of these areas. The dwellings are not to be converted into professional and admininstrative offices.

Now, on the basis of this political hypothesis on which the Commune is working, the University can study what it means in practice. It can analyse the costs involved in the operations, the effects on the urban environment, on transport, on the social structure of the residents concerned, the real possibility of implementing the plan in view of the market situation, the availability of contractors, and so forth.

The University can thus independently institute research studies aimed at verifying certain government choices in a critical and constructive fashion.

(ii) The University can carry out research work commissioned by the City. As we have seen in the Turin case, this should take place within the framework of an outline agreement to which all specific agreements should be related.

(iii) The University can exercise its teaching function, giving training, refresher and retraining courses to the technical and admininstrative staff of the City. It can organise courses on new admininstrative procedures, and technological innovations etc.

Such activities are of great importance and mutual benefit in the sense that those who attend these courses are not just "schoolboys" but are municipal officers with various skills who bring to the University their own

experience of practical work carried out in contact with obligations and problems unknown to the University. They are thus carriers of professional experiences which are absent from the University and this enables mutual cultural enrichment.

It seems to me that as far as the requirements of a city admininstrator are concerned, the different cooperative relationships can be reduced to the three categories mentioned above.

I should like to make a further general observation, on the basis of the experience acquired to date, on the problem of the connection between scientific activity and political decision-making.

As a politician, it is difficult for me to imagine "impartial" points of view on the different questions behind every decision. Behind even the apparently, or ostensibly, most "impartial" view, there is always a choice which can be ascribed to a political choice. In my opinion, the road to follow in the relationship between political and scientific activity is that of clearly defining the roles and responsibilities.

I therefore consider that a relationship should be established such that, in the diversity of political opinions and in mutual independence deriving from different rights, duties and privileges, it allows:

(i) the politicians who use this research to have the most complete knowledge possible of the realities of specific problems, as analysed by scientific research processes which must, of course, be as objective as possible. Given this cognitive basis, the politician is in a position to take responsible decisions, without prejudice or using ideological a priori knowledge.

(ii) the University researchers to use their own resources in a research activity which should be able to be carried out free of all political conditioning once the field of enquiry has been determined.

I think that during the past few years society as a whole has taken a decisive step towards realising that any decision, even one giving the appearance of being purely "technical", on the contrary, contains within itself the political choice which motivated it,

i.e. "politics is everywhere".

In my opinion, we have not yet made sufficiently resolutely the complementary step, which is to make sure that every political decision is preceded by scientific knowledge of the problem to be tackled.

I am talking here from direct personal experience. Often, because of the shortcomings we inherited, in Turin in particular we have to make decisions in a hurry, because of the urgency of the problems, without having sufficient knowledge of the realities on which we are operating.

Summing up, after having pointed out the political bases of any scientific activity, I think that the moment has come to introduce a greater number of elements of scientific knowledge into political activity. The paths that we are taking, with the difficulties and efforts that I hope to have demonstrated in this paper, are intended to fill these gaps.

If we succeed in doing this, I think it will be less difficult to carry out satisfactorily those tasks of economic, social and land use programming and development which have been assigned to Cities and Regions.

# APPENDIX A
## DATA SHEET

### ITALY

| | |
|---|---|
| surface area (km2) | 301,262 |
| population (as at 31/12/79) | 57,000,000 |
| Regions: ordinary | 15 |
| special status | 5 |
| Provinces: | 94 |
| Communes: | 8,074 |

### PIEDMONT REGION

| | |
|---|---|
| surface area (km2) | 25,399 |
| population (as at 30/10/79) | 4,531,500 |
| Provinces: | 6 |
| "Comprensori": | 15 |
| Communes: | 1,209 |

### COMMUNE (CITY) OF TURIN

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| surface area (km2) | 130 | |
| population (as at 31/12/79) | 1,160,795 | |
| Working population | 39.94% | |
| **Employment:** | | |
| Primary (agriculture)..... | | 0.27% |
| Secondary (industry)..... | | |
| Extractive and manufacturing | 52.22% | |
| Construction | 5.44% | |
| Utilities: electricity, gas, water | 0.95% | |
| Secondary TOTAL.... | | 58.62% |
| Tertiary (public and private) | | |
| Commerce..... | 13.97% | |
| Transport and communications. | 5.50% | |
| Credit and insurance..... | 2.47% | |
| Service..... | 14.29% | |
| Public Administration..... | 4.88% | |
| Tertiary TOTAL..... | | 41.11% |
| T O T A L.. | | 100.00% |

## 5. COMMENTS ON THE TURIN EXPERIENCE

Prof. A. Aravantinos, and
L. Wassenhoven, Greece.

### 1. BACKGROUND

In earlier expert group meetings organised by the project on "Improving the Management of Urban Research" of the OECD's Joint Activity on Urban Management, four problem areas were identified:

a) defining the research needs of cities;

b) improving communication and understanding between practitioners and researchers;

c) relating research findings to the political decision-making process;

d) allocation of resources to urban research.

In fact these problem areas are closely interlinked. For example, allocation of resources may be dependent upon the degree of involvement that the City authorities or the University have in defining research objectives. The experience of the City of Turin can be usefully judged against the background of these problem areas.

### 2. POSITIVE RESULTS

The main strength of the Turin approach seems to be the creation of a format of co-operation which delineates the roles of City or Region, and University and thus, in theory, permits the political authorities to relate research findings to political decision-making.

This, it is argued, is achieved by authorising research within a brief determined by political choices. Even the act of entering this engagement is in itself a remarkable achievement.

This arrangement may lead to a more rational allocation of research resources on both sides, i.e. financial resources and research skills. The extent to which this is done depends upon agreement on relative research priorities which the two contracting parties

may hold. This agreement presupposes, rather than creates, understanding and common ideological perspectives between politicians/practitioners and researchers, which should not be taken for granted in other contexts.

## 3. THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY

In spite of the encouraging results of the Turin experiences, at least as demonstrated in the willingness of political authorities and academics to co-operate on the basis of an agreed arrangement, there are issues which are still waiting to be discussed.

It is suggested that the University can perform three roles in the context of the above arrangement:

a) evaluate the city authority's political choices and predict their likely implications, i.e. perform essentially a policy analysis function;

b) undertake ad hoc research commissioned by the authority on short or long-term issues;

c) provide training or "refresher" courses for the authority's staff, thus drawing some benefit for itself from the presence in the academic environment of a number of professionals with greater contact with reality.

## 4. EMERGING QUESTIONS

Drawing on the experience of Turin, the following questions may be raised for discussion:

(i) Is the university the appropriate and only institution or agency to perform the crucial function of policy monitoring and policy analysis on a regular basis?

(ii) Is the definition of research needs a matter for the political authorities to decide, as policy priorities undoubtedly are?

(iii) Does the above scheme of co-operation allow sufficient inter-penetration and "osmosis" of ideas and attitudes between authorities and university?

(iv) Should one not encourage regular secondment of academics in action-oriented positions

and government officials in academic research projects or teaching?

(v) Why is government declared in advance as unsuitable ground for carrying out research?

(vi) Would not the role of policy monitoring and analysis be better assigned to institutions geared for this type of work and which do not suffer from the limitations of the annual work cycle of a university?

(vii) Does university-based research facilitate feed-back into policy making more than does research produced in government or in special policy analysis bodies?

(viii) Is the university the proper place to satisfy the training for all needs of government? Would not a combination of university based education and in-house training be a better solution?

## 5. SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR GREECE

The principle of regular government - university co-operation is a valuable approach which the National Technical University of Athens (N.T.U.), through its Centre of Urban Planning Research, has tried in the past to adopt, although on a more modest scale than in Turin. In the NTU case, this has taken the form of co-operation with central government ministries which commissioned to the Centre specific planning studies, with only occasional and tangential involvement of local authorities.

The problems that have been experienced are numerous and arise mainly out of the fragmentation of responsibilities for urban government and development in Greece, and especially in the Athens area, between central government, prefectures and several municipalities. Fragmentation of academic research and attitudes to "practical" research are other problems.

Rather than engage in ad hoc planning studies, the Centre of Urban Planning Research hopes to move into a regular relationship with the planning authorities, in the context of which the Centre could contribute background and analytical studies, useful for the design and revision of policy on urban development. Monitoring studies could only be undertaken, if they are well integrated in the Centre's basic research programme.

The bulk of the function of policy monitoring and analysis in the field of urban development in Greece should be assigned to a special agency, in which NTU could be a partner. This agency could monitor developments and trends in this field and assess the likely impact of future policy or the effectiveness of actual policy on a more active basis.

# 6. FORMS OF CITY/UNIVERSITY COOPERATION IN ISTANBUL.

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## INTRODUCTION

Many of the challenges and difficulties involved in effective city/university collaboration are general enough to be applicable to a variety of settings. For instance, city officials are faced everywhere with urgent problems in need of immediate action and are justifiably impatient with the pace of academic research. Academicians, on the other hand, find that their painstaking research efforts to identify key problems and long term solutions are frequently ignored in favor of expediency and stop-gap measures. How does one reconcile, then, the differences in goals and time horizons? Such conflicting priorities, outlooks and attitudes towards both time and resources often present chronic sources of tension, regardless of which university, or local government is involved. But the question of how, and to what extent, such problems can be overcome depends, to a considerable extent, upon the characteristics of the partners involved. What type of local government and what type of university is being talked about? Are we referring to direct city/university cooperation, or to collaboration through such mediating agencies as urban observatories, research institutes, etc. The answers to these questions are crucial in that they constitute the basic parameters of any cooperation 'model'.

The "Istanbul Case" is an experiment in two different modes of cooperation in two distinct phases: the first is an attempt at direct city/university cooperation; the second ,is the use of an intermediary unit between Istanbul and other cities and a local university. In an environment where systematic research of any sort on municipal problems is a relatively new and unexplored phenomenon; where funds are limited; and where the delegation of such responsibilities has not been clearly defined, it seems inevitable that experimentation with alternative modes of cooperation would be an appropriate course of action.

The first phase involved an experiment in direct collaboration between a large metropolitan government and a small university, (i.e. between the City of Istanbul and Bogazici University). One of the partners is a big-city machine, caught between pressures of central government, local politics and bureaucratic interests, in an urban environment that is largely out of control. The city administration lacks the resources to regulate the path of urban development or even to deliver 'old fashioned services' to masses of new immigrants. The second partner is a relatively small university, with highly selective enrolment and recruitment policies. From a comparative perspective then, one important aspect of the first phase of the Istanbul case is that it provides an example of big city/small university cooperation. Another important aspect of the Istanbul case is that it entails an attempt at direct collaboration between academicians and significant political actors in city government.

The second phase involved planning for the integration of a 'mediating agency', the Union of Municipalities of the Marmara Region (UMMR) into the city/univerity relationship. This alternative was selected as a result of the evaluation of the successes and failures of the direct approach. To a large extent the very size of the city, (Istanbul), and the university, (Bogazici), has necessitated the utilisation of such a brokerage mechanism. It soon became apparent that the nature and scope of the problems to be examined were fraught with possible political liabilities for the city government, and were also beyond the capacity of the university staff (both in terms of financial resources available, and time allocated). This is outlined in greater detail in the following account which proceeds in chronological order.

A brief outline of the context of urban government in Istanbul is given first. This is followed by a discussion of some of the considerations which led, through the elimination of different options, to the adoption of the first mode of collaboration. The specific format of the cooperative efforts is then detailed, followed by a preliminary assessment of its strengths and weaknesses. The final section discusses the proposals for a linkage with the UMMR as phase two of the project.

## THE CONTEXT OF URBAN GOVERNMENT IN ISTANBUL

The problems of urban government in Istanbul reflect the interaction of three main sets of factors: firstly the sheer scale and rate of urbanisation which is beyond the control of planners and brings associated demands for the expansion of services; secondly the inelasticity of financial resources which are centrally controlled and, beyond a very inadequate norm, entirely dependent on the the political favours of the national government; and thirdly, the rigidities of a bureaucratic structure which had developed largely independently of direct political control.

Perhaps the most important of these sets of factors is explosive population growth. Rural immigration has produced very high rates of population increase in the past two decades, making Istanbul now on some estimates the third largest city in Europe after London and Paris. No major public service has kept pace with this enormous increase in urban population or the territorial expansion of the city. Water supply, sewage disposal, drainage, electrical power, streets, public transport, health facilities and schools are all seriously deficient. Urban plans have had minimal impact on the sprawling growth of the city, whose settlement pattern has been determined primarily by the locational decisions of industrial enterprises and the availability of land for legal or illegal construction of private housing. As a result, large amounts of urban housing are overcrowed and built illegally without reference to building codes or other public standards. Nearly half of Istanbul's population lives in squatter settlements where many of the services deemed "functionally necessary" for Western European cities are absent.

In attempting to deal with rapid urban growth, the city government lacks sufficient financial resources to provide even minimal municipal services for most of its burdgeoning population. The sphere of local as opposed to central, government is somewhat more limited in Turkey when compared with British and American cities. Most visibly, education, police and most health and social services fall outside the sphere of local admininstration. The functions of local government are skewed towards physical services - from sanitation and utility provision, to planning and low cost housing - and some economic functions in relation to price controls etc. Local autonomy in the provision of these services ,is, however, heavily constrained by a lack of control over revenue sources.

There is no local income tax, while property tax, a major source of local income in other countries, is charged at a low rate and collected by central government with only 45% going to the municipality. Local shares of other national taxes (such as income and corporations tax, fuel consumption tax, customs and excise duties) are small and population based. The city government itself has little or no autonomy in raising money and many of the specific service charges and levies it is allowed are financially prohibitive to collect. As the city grows, municipal income obviously rises since the base for property tax grows and shares of other national taxes are population based. But Turkey's national tax capacity is low, while the demands on the city of Istanbul resulting from migration run far in excess of increasing revenues. Given the rising real costs of services, the deteriorating capital stock, and the inflexibility and inadequacy of revenues, it is not surprising that Istanbul Municipality has moved into a substantially and consistently deficit position.

The basic predicament of the Mayor of Istanbul in this context is that he is alone at the focus of political demands, but is constrained not only by resource shortages but also by the disjointed and unresponsive bureaucracy under his own authority. The Mayor is directly elected, with a weak Council, empowered to do little more than approve the budget (or in the last resort impeach the Mayor, subject to appeal), and a majority of permanent officials on the Municipal Committee wherein the Mayor exercises the sole right of initiative. Yet the municipal bureaucracy, employing some 20,000 people in its hierarchy, is resistant to change and innovations. Frequently, the Mayor has to devise means of by-passing his own bureaucratic apparatus to implement his policies.

The problems of urban government in Istanbul and the sets of factors which contribute to it, reflect some of the same factors invoked to explain the "ungovernability" of large metropolitan centres elsewhere in the world. But those intimately familiar with the Istanbul situation claim, not without justification, that the city has all the disadvantages of so-called ungovernable European and American cities plus a host of nearly insurmountable indigenous problems.

## PHASE I: DIRECT CITY/UNIVERSITY COLLABORATION

How do academics begin to communicate with big city government ? In a metropolitan administration which employs approximately 20,000 people in various rungs of its fragmented bureaucracy, who does one see? With whom, and on what basis, does one 'collaborate'?

These were the initial questions confronting a group of faculty members involved in the establishment of a new Urban Studies Programme in the Social Sciences Department of Bogazici University. Discussions on the scope and orientation of the new programme revolved around the classic dilemmas of many academicians in the social sciences: should we undertake the more familiar and comfortable task of pure research, or venture into the uncertain by becoming involved in applied work? The consensus was on the need for applied work and the necessity of collaboration and cooperation with city administration. The question was 'how'?

The distinctive feature of the newly established Urban Studies Programme at Bogazici University was an inter-disciplinary emphasis, combining urban sociology, urban politics and government, urban economics etc. This was in contrast to a number of universities in Istanbul where there already existed large and established departments of architecture, geography or city planning with excellent research capability and output. The strong point of the new Urban Studies Programme at Bogazici University was to be its emphasis on sociological, political and organisational aspects of the city. But this also meant that the academics involved in the programme lacked the skills and experience of physical planning which in most settings provides the basis of city/university linkups. The problem, then, was one of devising a form and type of co-operation wherein academicians with little experience in practical affairs and none of the specific, technical skills of the physical planner, could make a contribution. Initially, neither the academicians, nor the city government knew exactly what the nature of such a contribution could be. It only became clearer as direct contacts and mutual deliberations proceeded.

The initial strategy of the Urban Studies Group from the University was to seek out professional or technical people who worked for city government in various capacities, in an attempt to establish possible bases of collaboration. The information and feedback received from this group can be briefly

summarised as follows:

The number of engineers, planners, architects, lawyers, economists, etc. employed by the city government was larger, in terms of sheer numbers, than the entire academic staff of a small university. In terms of both numbers of qualifications, the professional-technical staff of the municipality were impressive. Some of these people were employed in direct administrative tasks; other served in the 'intelligence' role of assessing needs and development of programmes. But the ongoing information collection and analysis activity was fragmented through departmental specialisation and lack of horizontal liaison. There was no central staff unit which concentrated available information and developed overall policies and programmes through the evaluation of alternatives. Thus a general feeling of frustration prevailed among the professional staff. The feedback received from this group was that if they, as professionals working within the municipality, could not contribute to the policy-making and implementation process, what could a group of outside academicians hope to accomplish? This did not mean, of course, that they were averse to collaborating with academicians. On the contrary they were quite enthusiastic. But at the same time they were sceptical about the worth of research activity which, in the light of their own past experiences, was bound to be ignored by the political actors in decision-making positions.

This somewhat pessimistic and discouraging picture conveyed by the professional-technical people led to the conclusion that any attempt at effective city/university collaboration in Istanbul had to involve the significant political actors in city government. Thus a second round of contacts, this time with political decision-makers, was initiated. An oversimplified but succinct summary of their perception of the nature of urban government in a city like Istanbul, and attitudes toward academics and universities in general, is as follows:

As the chief executives in a 'strong Mayor' city, the Mayor and his deputies found themselves at the focus of a set of conflicting pressures. Their predicament stemmed from a series of factors which are common to metropolitan government in many countries, but which are more intense in Istanbul: the escalating demand for local services as a result of mass immigration; a continuing national economic crisis with rapid inflation which severely constrains the resources available for local government; frustrating limitations on local autonomy of action imposed by central government; and the exigencies imposed by the

Mayor's and the party's need to achieve re-election, are probably among the most important of these.

The key executives in Istanbul felt that in the existing environment of very rapid change, a volatile political climate, and scarce resources, 'rationalistic policy planning systems' were of limited relevance. According to them the 'needs' in Istanbul were so glaring, (such as provision of basic services like water, electricity, etc.) and so immediate, that predominance of professional power was likely to limit responsiveness and add to the difficulty of satisfying the increasing number of participants in urban politics. Information gathering and analysis, local and economic evaluation of alternatives, and the preparation of programmes and reports, were seen as worthwhile and important activities. But it was also pointed out that the municipality had its own staff to carry out these functions and furthermore there already existed a wealth of information and an abundance of proposals for action on various aspects of 'urban problems' in Istanbul,

The difficulty with academics and universities stemmed from their misconceived assumption that policy makers in city-hall had to be 'informed' about the needs and problems of the city, it was claimed. Examples were given of conferences and seminars organised by various universities in Istanbul where city officials were invited to sit through lectures on the "Transportation Problems of Istanbul", or "Preservation of Green Areas and Historical Sites", etc. Who could know more about these needs and problems than the political actors themselves? Policy proposals and action programmes devised by academicians and professionals isolated from the political and practical realities of decision-making in Istanbul were invariably 'unrealistic' according to their past experiences.

In summary, the feedback received from the political actors was that the academics themselves were in urgent need of being informed, and there was little possibility of their making a tangible contribution until they remedied their own state of political naivety.

It was at this point that a possible basis of collaboration which would prove beneficial to both academics and city officials, suggested itself. For while city officials felt that there was not much that the academics could contribute at this time, they themselves had much to share and were enthusiastic about debating the major issues in relation to urban

government in Istanbul. The academics, on the other hand, were willing to acknowledge their political naivety and need for enlightenment; but were persistent in their conviction that they could be useful, possibly in providing a forum for discussion. As both parties were interested in continuing contacts, it was decided to structure the process by organising a series of round-table discussions. In a context where the political actors could divest themselves of their 'public' and 'official' roles, and the academics would curb their 'advisory' aspirations, mutual deliberation of specific issues of common concern would, it was felt, be possible and might prove to be fruitful.

The format of collaboration which thus took shape was based on the 'fit' between the needs and interests of city officials in a large metropolis and academicians from a small university with few claims to 'technical expertise' of the conventional sort.

## THE WORKSHOP FORMAT

The format of the first phase of city/university collaboration in Istanbul involved the organisation of a problem-oriented workshop which would bring together political actors from city government and academics, to provide a forum for discussion. The initial idea was that the workshops were to be annual events. Each annual 'workshop' would constitute a threshold point in an ongoing discussion of a particular defined issue decided upon earlier that year. Procedurally, three distinct steps were involved:

a. at the beginning of each academic year a group of university staff would begin preliminary information gathering on a problem which the city government had defined as a current issue. This phase would proceed in consultation with city officials, the number and qualifications of the faculty members involved depending upon the demands of the issue selected;

b. upon the completion of the preliminary information gathering phase, the round-table discussion group i.e. the 'workshop' would convene to deliberate various aspects of the issue. Meeting over a two day period, the 'workshop' would have the specific purpose of bringing together political actors and academics to discuss alternative strategies and responses as well as the costs (political

and other) of action and non-action;

c. after the workshop concluded its business, a committee of participants in the workshop would draft a summary of major conclusions which would have emerged, as well as any proposals for action.

A workshop following this agenda, and focusing on 'Issues of Centralisation-Decentralisation in the Admininstrative Structure of the Municipality of Istanbul' was held on 14-15th September, 1979. Some of its distinctive features were:

(a) The participants were selected so as to ensure that city officials would take the lead in the discussions and could debate the issues amongst themselves. Thus of the 16 participants, 9 were from local government and of these four (including the Mayor himself) were politician-administrators.

(b) To prepare the groundwork for the discussions, faculty members had prepared a series of papers on different aspects of the problems at hand. These papers were descriptive in nature and outlined the existing situation. They did not contain any policy proposals. The papers were distributed to the participants one week ahead of time but were not read or summarised during the workshop.

(c) The workshop was entirely devoted to discussion; the agenda for discussion being decided upon by the group at the beginning of the first day. The participating faculty members did not have a 'hidden agenda'.

(d) At the end of two days of round-table discussion, consensus was reached on an agenda for immediate action. The proposal for action which emerged did not entail commitment to comprehensive change; it did not involve a major policy shift. Rather it aimed at short-run impact, modest funding requirements and what, given the political conjuncture of the time, appeared to involve minimum political risk. This meant that there was a possibility of it being actually implemented.

## STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE DIRECT MODE OF COLLABORATION

The format and style of collaboration described

above has a number of strengths. First, it breaks the traditional role patterns of academicians and municipal officials vis-a-vis one another. It does not involve 'commissioned research' where the municipality is the client; it does not entail 'conferences' or 'seminars' where municipal officials are either informed or trained. The 'workshop' format is flexible enough to tackle a wide range of issues, in that, given a core network of individuals experienced in this style of collaboration, expertise from different sources can be drawn upon for the annual workshops. Finally, it allows academics to become involved in the specific and practical problems of immediate interest to municipal officials.

The very factors which contribute to making this mode of collaboration a genuinely satisfactory one for all parties concerned can, in the long run, turn out to be its major weaknesses. University departments are built upon large-scale and often long-term research grants. Steering away from the comprehensive research and lengthy reports which have frequently disillusioned city officials may thus be very costly for the university. These costs are immediately felt at the departmental level. Eliciting long-term commitment to a partnership model which does not entail fringe benefits at the departmental level in terms of student assistantships, fund for graduate theses, secretarial help etc., may prove to be difficult and needs serious consideration

For the individual academicians involved, conflicting demands upon time are the typical problem. In the Istanbul case, this problem is particularly acute since the maintenance of direct contacts with city officials is a part of the collaborative effort itself. Thus, the core group of academics who are most immediately and directly involved has to maintain a very precarious balance between teaching and academic careers on the one hand, and involvement in the political and practical realities of city government on the other. Again in the case of Istanbul, the model of collaboration adopted offered the academics a rare access to information on top-level decision making in city hall, which could have substantial academic pay-offs, if only the time could be found to write.

On the other hand, while municipal officials and politicians can step out of their official roles for a brief time and freely discuss issues within the framework of such a workshop, they are inevitably confronted with political-admininstrative realities upon their return to city hall. While the proposal agreed upon at the workshop did not, in fact, involve any major reorganisation of the municipality, it did

involve experimentation. While even possibly deleterious effects of such experimentation can be absorbed at the best of times, when the municipal administration is under severe political pressure, such minor experiments with uncertain returns can easily become inflated into risks not worth taking. The national political situation had in fact deteriorated dramatically in the months following September 1979, from the perspective of the municipal administration of the time.

The complex simultaneity of all these factors set the scene for the quiet, almost unspoken, demise of the workshop project. As the national political scene deteriorated even further throughout the early months of 1980, the workshop agenda slipped further into the background. The luxury of the debates of the previous September seemed to be separated from the present by political light years. The parties involved began to search for more realistic alternatives.

PHASE II: PLANNING WITH THE UMMR AS A MEDIATING BODY

The search for an alternative mode of cooperation was sought in the process of the evaluation of the workshop and its implications in the Autumn of 1979. The need for some sort of mediating body had become apparent. Some of the political burden of research and implementation had to be removed from the shoulders of municipal officials and politicians by channelling this responsibility to a body which would be less exposed to the push and pull of everyday city and national politics. From the university point of view there was the need for an organisation that could assume responsibility for the management of any such projects; and that had both the financial resources and staff to handle any future workshops, research projects, and the like. The natural choice for a mediating institution was the Union of Municipalities of the Marmara Region (UMMR), a very dynamic organisation of local authorities in the region, which had a solid political base in the member municipalities at the same time that it was able to maintain a degree of political autonomy. It commanded the respect of the Mayor of Istanbul and other upper echelon officials in the city. While it did not have the financial resources itself to undertake major research projects, it had both a large and experienced research and administrative staff and the ability to lobby for funds from member municipalities. The UMMR had been a participant in the September 1979 workshop, so that approaching it was quite a natural development. Out of the discussions that ensued, the

format for a new mode of cooperation emerged.

The UMMR had been pressured by the demands of member municipalities for answers to certain types of urban problems that only experienced researchers in the area could provide. There was also an expressed need for various types of training for municipal officials, and for seminars and discussion groups organised around pressing urban issues. It became apparent that the university could, by participating in such endeavours, both expand its role in relation to the city and at the same time minimise the unnecessary and often wasteful expenditure of time and energy of the type that had accompanied the original workshop project in 1979.

With a preliminary agreement for cooperation, the two parties entered into a period of actual planning for the establishment of a Center for Municipal Research and Development (CMRD) to be a sub-unit of the UMMR. At the most recent stage of development it was agreed that the CMRD was to function as a brokerage mechanism. There was to be a committee composed of UMMR representatives and university faculty members that would serve as a clearing house for requests for research on the part of municipalities, which would be assessed for the costs of the research plus overhead. Such research would be contracted out to experts in the area. Use was to have been made of the UMMR facilities on the shore of the Sea of Marmara where research activities were to have been located along with a municipal educational unit which was to have been established as part of the CMRD.

# 7.TWO UNIVERSITIES AND THEIR ROLES IN RELATION TO URBAN RESEARCH : BIRMNGHAM, U.K.

Prof. A.S. Travis and Dr. H. Williams

## INTRODUCTION

The Detroit Conference is using an International canvas on which to paint alternative pictures of how different countries go about defining the research needs of cities; jointly tackle urban management; improve communications and understanding between practitioners and academic researchers; relate relevant research findings to the political decision-making process; and define and allocate appropriate resources to urban research.

In each country different institutional frameworks, differently-weighted levels of government,and different priorities and processes, affect who defines which research programmes are to meet the requirements of urban management. The most dramatic example of a specially conceived structure to answer a need, is the Urban Observatory Model in the U.S.A. The experience of the UK - as exemplified by the West Midlands Case Study - is one of organised complexity, of evolved adaptive structures to meet changing needs, and the use of inter-institutional frameworks, reflecting the key role of central government funding in addressing many of the basic functions and research needs of urban management. The formal pattern of institutional responsibilities would suggest that the system is not an easy one to work, but the complex development of informal processes, enables the delivering of useful and relevant products from research, to inform urban policy evolution.

Pearce, in his excellent 1978 report, examines the realm, roles and functions of urban research in several countries. He states that:

> "... research is faced with the development of a more appropriate control, information retrieval and design/decision-making system, including measures to assist the evaluation of current and future policies. A first step in this direction requires insights into the interactions and

> interdependencies that operate in the urban environment, information about the use of the existing environment, and the probabilities of change in the future." (Pearce, 1978)

It was in accepting such a brief, that the two universities in Birmingham (Birmingham and Aston) setup three specialist units, units which rapidly developed functions of national significance. From their origins, all three units first received finance from national bodies to conduct research and training nationally (and indeed internationally) but with a focus at the local and regional levels of government. All three units, had and have, wide links to and in their home region, as well as wider afield, in the realms of urban management, and urban planning research.

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

The three units to which reference is made are:

1) the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies at Birmingham University (CURS);

2) the Institute of Local Government Studies at Birmingham University (ILGS);

3) the Joint Unit for Research on the Urban Environment at the University of Aston in Birmingham (JURUE).

Let us, therefore, look summarily, in turn, at the origin, nature and aims of each of these three research units.

CURS was established in 1966, primarily as an inter-disciplinary urban research centre, but also having post-graduate research-training, and post-experience course provision functions. It was planned as a bridge between academic research, and the needs of policy makers in public (and private) agencies concerned with urban and regional affairs. The underlying academic research aim of the Centre is to achieve a better understanding of the processes of urban and regional change - i.e. the dynamics of the economic, social and political processes. Thus the externally funded contract research work undertaken is both problem-oriented and policy advisory.

ILGS was created in 1963 to undertake training of staff, and relevant research in relation to local government in Britain and abroad; to provide advisory services to those concerned with the practice or

teaching of local government; and to promote the academic study of this field and its problems. The Institute has developed as a major centre for the study of governmental management and policy, reflected in its strong commitment to post-experience teaching.

The two Departments, while retaining their separate identity, formed the Joint Centre for Regional, Urban and Local Government Studies, in 1977, in order to promote certain academic and service initiatives, through a close relationship between their respective strengths in both research and teaching.

JURUE was founded in 1971 at Aston, as a multidisciplinary research and consultancy organisation working in the fields of land-use and economic planning; environmental and pollution studies; and transportation studies. It is associated with a related teaching department - APUS, or the Department of Architectural, Planning and Urban Studies.

All three units have developed primarily with the support of central government, government agencies, research councils, and charitable foundations, plus the corporate action of local government (via Training Boards) or of individual local authorities. Urban research in Britain has been fundamentally supported from central rather than local government funding sources.

SCALE OF RESEARCH ACTIVITY

Currently some 82 academic staff (excluding support staff) are employed in the three research centres: 44 in ILGS, 22 in CURS, and 16 in JURUE. This represents a major urban research resource in national, not just regional terms. The nationally sponsored Centre for Environmental Studies, in London, has only some 30 'academic' staff, and three independent urban research institutes in London have 15-25 staff each. Over 1.5 million pounds sterling worth of contract research work has been completed by the three research units in Birmingham to date.

This needs to be said, not only to demonstrate the scale of research capability involved, but to indicate that it has been an academic push to get urban management research tackled, firstly from national funds, and then increasingly - from local government funds.

Therefore this paper examines:

1) the roles, functions and mechanisms of the university research units;

2) the categories of research undertaken in the West Midlands by them;

3) constraints in the relationship of university research agencies to local government;

4) roles and support of national bodies, to aid local urban management;

5) emerging local government funding for cooperation in urban management research;

6) needs and competition questions;

7) findings and evaluation of the local experience.

FUNCTIONS AND MECHANISMS USED BY UNIVERSITY RESEARCH INSTITUTES

These include tackling:

a) the four levels, and types of research (later described) i.e. basic databanking, rapid response work, specific research studies, and long-term research projects;

b) research training of research workers;

c) post-experience training for urban management of those in urban management;

d) the development of 'special relationships' with a whole local authority, its specific service arms, or functional services of a group of local authorities;

e) feedback mechanisms from research output via dissemination in publications, courses, seminars and conferences.

Thus the three policy-focussed research units use a wide range of mechanisms relating to their research functions, in aiding and serving urban management and planning.

Earlier OECD work (OECD, 1979) has identified four levels and types of research service, namely:-

i) basic data: collection, analysis, and monitoring of statistics and information generally;

ii) rapid response: servicing telephone and other urgent demands for factual material;

iii) specific studies: investigation, often by a team, of current issues or problem areas;

iv) research proper: longer term examination of more fundamental matters of concern.

These categories of research can be further expanded into databanking and urban intelligence systems; forecasting studies; short-term policy-studies; monitoring and evaluation studies; impact studies; medium and long-term policy studies; and explanatory and conceptual theory studies.

In a relatively developed country like the U.K. (Eversley and Moody, 1976) where 65% of G.D.P. relates to the public sector, a very large number of mandatory tasks are vested in government, and local government is largely expected to meet its basic data and rapid response needs, from in-house 'research capacity'. This matter is dealt with in the following paper, so I will not take the point further. With regard to specific studies and to research proper, however, local government expects to meet some of these needs itself; and some to be met by external work (funded by themselves or central government). Basic 'research proper' is expected to be done by 'others' - such as the university research sector.

CATEGORIES OF UNIVERSITY RESEARCH UNDERTAKEN IN THE WEST MIDLANDS.

All of the four earlier defined categories of research involve major contributions by the three university research institutes named. For example:-

Data and Intelligence work:

- Small Heath, Birmingham, employment studies (by CURS) for the Department of the Environment.

- Area management information (by ILGS) for the Department of the Environment.

- Local authority employment planning (JURUE) for Social Science Research Council (S.S.R.C.).

- Comprehensive Community Programmes (JURUE) for the Home Office.

Rapid Response work :

- Telephone-answering aid service to Parish Councils (CURS) (paid for nationally).

- Day Seminars on current problems or new local government functions (ILGS) - for local authorities.

Specific Studies:

- Impact of the National Exhibition Centre (JURE) for the Department of the Environment (DOE).

- Monitoring of housing action areas (CURS) for D.O.E.

- Remedying urban deprivation (ILGS) for D.O.E.

- Area management policy studies (ILGS) for D.O.E.

- Local economy studies (JURUE) for West Midlands local authorities

Research Proper:

- Monitoring the housing system (CURS) for DOE

- Evolution of the inner city housing market, (CURS) for Social Science Research Council.

The preceding indicative examples show that in most cases the research function serves a local understanding or policy need. The financial support for this local urban management research is, however, largely from national funds. It is not just a matter of means, but also one of attitudes, and the adequacy of contact and understanding between local government technical officers and elected members, on the one hand, and University researchers on the other. Attitudes of local government officers and members diminish their responsiveness to research output from external sources unless it has immediate easy application, requires limited effort, and suggests obvious benefits with little disruption. Internal research initiatives may be of a similarly low order. (CURS 1977). The product of research is related to the climate within which it is done, and a local authority system with a high resistance to change may inhibit 'research' defined as such. At an individual

level, a researcher is unlikely to feel encouraged in his efforts, and career prospects are unlikely to provide much incentive. To complete the circle, lack of staff qualified to interpret research results means the possible benefits of external research are unlikely to be recognised, and accepted, in some local authorities.

CONSTRAINTS IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF UNIVERSITY RESEARCH AGENCIES TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT

a) Research Institutions.

Perhaps the most damning criticism of academic research institutions is that they fail to produce results of relevance to the needs of urban policy-making. Bodies like the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies at least try very hard to avoid this pitfall. Again attitudes are significant. Quality of research is important to the academic researcher with his concepts of rigour. The user is more interested in quality and quantity of usable research findings that can be applied within the limits of the local government system, and within acceptable change limits (implied by Schon (Schon, 1973)). These attitudes are likely to stay with the academic researcher, to some extent, even when he moves from 'pure' to 'applied' research. If there is 'blame' to be attributed for the apparent past failure of social science policy research to have had a real and major influence in the decisions of local government, all the parties involved must take a share. Local authorities are not totally innocent, nor are the research institutions, while the channels between the two have often proved inadequate. Equally, the nature of research itself is at least partly responsible.

b) Local Authorities.

Local authorities can be criticised for a lack of commitment to research and its products. This lack of commitment, it might be argued, arises from real conflicts between research and policy needs, from real inadequacies of research for policy purposes, but it also arises from basic attitudes; particularly attitudes to change. It is perhaps the attitudinal problems which have been under-estimated until the last few years, (C.E.S., 1973).

The role of local government is to serve defined area populations by attempting to meet a range of functional needs. For this purpose, local authorities

have been given a number of statutory powers, functions and obligations. However, even within a realm of statutory obligations, variations in attitudes quickly become apparent. Minimal interpretations of duties can be seen at one extreme - responses which are innovative and beyond obligations at the other. A ranking of local authorities by their levels of innovation and responsiveness has, in studies by research students at Coventry and Oxford, shown a notable correlation with the quantity and quality of policy-related research undertaken by or for those authorities. This correlation, of course, explains nothing, since the research input, as well as responsiveness, must be related to other critical factors such as political thrust and effectiveness; synthesis of political will and technical interest; and ability to gain access to adequate resources for development.

It can be suggested that response to change in a local authority, as in an industrial corporation, is one of dynamic conservatism (to use Schon's phrase) that is, not inertia but organised resistance to change. It would be useful if the two studies undertaken at Coventry of local government decision making (Friend and Jessop, 1969 and Friend, Power and Yewlett, 1974) were extended to probe the critical constraint of 'resistance to change' in a number of less innovative authorities.

It has been suggested by White (White, 1971) that local authorities in Britain want useful outputs from basic conceptual research and basic applied research, paid for and done by people outside local government. The urban managers will ask for planning studies, surveys etc. from their in-house group, or urban intelligence unit, paying for this directly. According to Gregory at Coventry (Gregory, 1974), the urban management system has four types of research need, namely:

1) intelligence, or corporate information, for management;

2) operational research = policy-generating research;

3) research on policy-appraisal;

4) research on policy-effectiveness.

NATIONAL BODIES WHICH AID RESEARCH ON LOCAL URBAN MANAGEMENT.

It has already been stated that central government, national bodies, and the universities have provided the push and the means in Britain for research on urban management. The exceptions to this general rule, have related to the roles of the Local Government Training Board, and the Local Government Operational and Research Unit. However, as long ago as 1976 Eversley and Moody gave the confirming data to prove how dominant a role central government had played in Britain, in providing support for research related to local government, urban management and urban planning.

In the period 1965-75 some 8.25 million pounds sterling was spent on this field of research in Britain.

Of the total: 7% was provided by local government

53% came from central government, and offical research bodies

plus 10% came from the 3 big independent research trusts

DOE's (Department of the Environment's research support share increased from 10% - 25% of the total between 1967 and 1974. The Social Science Research Council over the period contributed 30% of total research budgets in this field.

Though these are national bodies and their interests are nation-wide, the focus and locus of national research, has often been local. For example, DOE has funded local housing studies, conducted by CURS, in Sandwell, Birmingham and Dudley, and it has supported industrial building and local employment studies, undertaken by JURUE in several West Midlands local authority areas. A one million pound DOE research budget on Inner Cities, provided a research base that particularly benefitted our home region, through three major studies done by our two universities.

In a similar way the Social Science Research Council has supported research trusts on the Inner City (SSRC, 1974), on Planning Research, on Urban Management and Governance, on Local Authority

Employment Studies, on Ethnic Relations, and the Urban Leisure Studies. The three local research units have used these national funds to focus on a large number of West Midlands studies, as well as inter-regional comparative studies. No less than 15 studies come into this category.

JURUE, especially, has found that central government research funding has led to working relationships with local authorities in the region, who in turn have funded follow-up research work by them. There is a dynamic in these inter-corporate relationships....work by Research Councils can lead to DOE funded work; work by universities paid for by local government can lead to subsequent work on the topic by central government and so on. What has been slower to evolve is research fitted to the needs of defined groups within urban management:- the needs of elected members, of officers, of functions or of levels of management etc. Only ILGS, expert in management training needs of these groups, is starting research initiatives in this area of activity. The research field is itself belatedly recognising, not only several processes of research for urban management, planning and decision-making, but also the nature of the systems (economic, social and physical) and processes addressed (by local government, the Universities and so on.) Dynamics, interactions and inter-corporate effects (as addressed by Friend, Power and Yewlett), now require us to separate out inherent processes of change, and induced and adjusted changes in cities.

Amos, at a past OECD Symposium reported the OECD definition of Urban Management as:

> ".... the task of organising and carrying out the operational, planning and policy-making functions of city government, involving the participation of professional advisers, political decision-makers, and citizens, and requiring, on the one hand, co-operation with the national policies of government, and on the other, sensitivity to the private social goals of citizens". (Amos, 1976) (OECD, 1971, 1974).

In the British system, it is at the under-developed regional levels that key interchange between the processes of local government and change, and central government and intent take place. Regional studies, central-local relations and regional processes are areas of real research in which the three research units have played, and are playing, a vital role. This applies in both conceptual and operational terms. In

Policy terms, CURS especially has contributed by making research contributions to regional stategies for sport and recreation, the regional tourism strategy and regional planning seminars on physical and economic planning. Such work provides a useful contextual framework essential for local government policy making at a lower tier of decision-making.

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ON URBAN MANAGEMENT

From what has already been said, it is clear that the U.S. Urban Observatory approach would need to be adapted, rather than adopted, for use in Britain. Work between CURS, ILGS, JURUE and local government has reflected the common problems of the different time horizons of research and of local government decision making; and the conflict between quick answers and rigorous research (data verification and checking academic integrity) etc. Different peer groups are involved for researcher and for policy maker, but compromise is achievable. Some fields of research for urban management have become suspect. We share Banner's doubts (Banner, 1976) about how far research has an ability to predict in urban planning and management and has therefore switched to observation and purposive monitoring; the consequences, impacts and effects of simple alternative real decisions can,however, be researched.

The last decade, despite growing economic constraints on local government spending in Britain, has seen our local authorities in the West Midlands increasingly turn to the University for specific research tasks,( where in-house skills have been lacking or independent special assessments have been required.) As in the USA, the Universities have been increasingly approached, rather than commercial consultants. They are cheaper, have commitment, special skills, rigour and independence to offer in their research contribution. The Rothschild principle (H.M. Government Green Paper, 1972) of a customer - contractor basis for urban management research has evolved gradually between the local authorities and the research units in the Universities. Examples of work done include sectoral work in Birmingham Housing (by CURS for Birmingham); on Small Industrial Firms (JURUE for Birmingham); the Bilston Steelworks (JURUE for West Midlands C.C.); as well as Inner City Partnership work by all three units (Birmingham Inner City Partnership, 1979) involving local and central government funding. Extremely complex funding arrangements are emerging as costs of research rise, and multi-agency funding of a single research project occurs.

At this stage, local government funding of research in Universities may suffer as spending cuts grow. Payment of outside researchers may put at risk existing in-house research staff, research units, or urban intelligence units. More of our politicians see research as a luxury, and as research spending drops, spending on action and physical realities increases, though research monitoring of the effectiveness of actions and programmes does not grow at the same rate!

NEEDS AND COMPETITION

At a time of severe economic recession, conflicts grow. The University and private sector's competition for limited research contracts is on the increase. The conflict in local government between saving 'jobs' or saving 'services' means that already externally promoted research is an easy early victim. Structural innovations come and go - local government reorganisation here saw a shift of powers; the phase of corporate management (or comprehensive planning in US terms) brought corporate data and central intelligence systems. 'Central intelligence' and 'research' are now both increasingly unacceptable politically in local government.

National research funding is going more for 'narrow specialisms' in the development of a chain of national research centres in subject-specialisms, rather than urban or regional laboratories with area-specialisms. All the dice are loaded against it swinging that way in Britain now.

Flexi-funding, changing foci of research, acceptance of research, and the acceptance of research if it helps quickly in solving fundamental problems (e.g. collapse of the local economy), mean that adaptive institutions in Schon's sense (Schon, 1973) are wanted, but synoptic urban management research centres may represent a transient development phase. Of a current 37 million pounds Urban Partnership Programme on actions in the West Midlands, under 150 thousand pounds is spent on what might be called research.

EVALUATION

An ad hoc Urban Observatory programme and activity has in fact evolved in the West Midlands, drawing more upon central than upon local funds, but contributing to every category of research need in the

region. The value of research expenditure over this period on these topics in this region has been larger than the total quoted U.S. national expenditure on the Urban Observatory programme. That does not, however, say that one approach is any more or less effective than the other in terms of research utility, policy improvement, of the social or cost effectiveness of research expenditure in these two universities.

Going back to Robert Woods' impressive 1962 paper in the USA, that started off the U.S. Programme, (Wood, 1962) the structure, aims, clarity and follow through in the Observatory programme is impressive. No research on the West Midlands approach which I've tried to set out exists... one cannot say therefore what money saving to local government, what relative benefits and costs have taken place compared to other alternatives. Certainly JURUE sees itself as having a deepening and extending relationship to the group of local authorities in its home region; whilst CURS/ILGS tend to stay more oriented to functional types of local authority departments (housing, leisure services, planning etc) or to comparative approaches between home region area problems and problems elsewhere. It may be judged from the following paper from colleagues in the two local authorities, whether or not they perceive us as having any utility to them.

The programmed approach to research priorities in central government, is not yet characteristic of local government. Increasingly, it seems crisis or failure situations may identify urgent research needs and politicians, with electoral horizons, value visible products of success of their time of power. They want research only if it helps 'deliver the goods in time'. There are manifold constraints on research and its use; regional research centres and urban observatories are not a 'coming thing' in Britain. Management development, organisation development, post experience training and responsive research are growing in the West Midlands and elsewhere. New organisational models for research are emerging, new structures are becoming possible, but still dissemination of relevant existing research findings lags behind, and the proverbial high wastage factor in research continues. A viable system of a university contribution to urban management exists in Birmingham. It is a complex, not a simple and elegant one, but it does work.

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# 8. A LOCAL GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE ON URBAN RESEARCH, BIRMINGHAM, U.K. :

A.A. Wood, and G. Shaylor

## INTRODUCTION

As a case study this paper is essentially factual. It describes the present situation, and comments upon it, for urban research, focussing on the area of the City of Birmingham Metropolitan District Council, one of the seven District Councils which make up the West Midlands Metropolitan County in the United Kingdom. Except in the specific case of the Birmingham Inner City Partnership, which is to be mentioned later, all the County level activities described apply equally in the other six Districts.

The paper then describes the structure and finance of local government, the urban planning and management powers available to the two local authorities and to the central government departments, the current research efforts, and the institutional structure for research. It finishes with an assessment of the current situation and a personal evaluation on the part of the authors.

## 1. THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

Since 1974 the governing system of the United Kingdom has comprised central government Departments, some of which have regional offices, and two tiers of local government. The overall split of functions between the county and district levels varies between the "Metropolitan" Counties, which cover the industrial conurbations and generally may be regarded as strategic planning and transportation authorities only, and the "Shire" Counties which in addition to such strategic powers are also responsible for matters such as education and social services. Even in the Metropolitan Counties the range of responsibilities varies between counties due to differing arrangements made for certain functions not specifically allocated to either level.

The West Midlands County Council area covers the West Midlands conurbation, the nearby city of Coventry, and the largely rural area between. It is an industrial area, developed during the late 18th and 19th centuries, concentrating first and foremost upon the metal manufacturing, engineering, automobile and

related industries. The County Council area has a population of 2.7 million and the City of Birmingham Metropolitan District Council is the largest District Council with a population of just over 1 million. Birmingham is the regional and commercial centre of the conurbation and the surrounding area, as well as being an important manufacturing centre particularly related to the car industry, automobile electrical products, buses and trains, and a variety of specialised metal products.

To add some confusion to the picture the West Midlands County is a part of a standard government region of over 5 million people - the West Midlands Region - with four surrounding counties - Shropshire, Hereford/Worcester, Warwickshire and Staffordshire. Apart from the "Potteries" area in North Staffordshire the surrounding counties are largely rural in character with a number of medium-sized towns and a sizeable commuter belt adjacent to the West Midlands County.

Certain public sector services are provided direct by government departments, the remainder come through either statutory bodies or local authority departments. Direct services provided by government are the health service, both primary and secondary care; social security payments; unemployment payments;and the provision of job finding services through job centres and financial assistance under a number of measures to local industries.

A number of services are provided by statutory boards including water, sewerage and land drainage; electricity; and gas. These boards are run by central government nominees, although in the case of the water authority there is also local authority representation on the board.

Local authority services, where the policies are determined by elected local authority members, are provided as follows:-

a. West Midlands County Council

1. Transportation, covering highways and public transport, with certain minor exceptions undertaken by the Metropolitan District Councils.

2. Strategic town and country planning.

3. Economic development.

4. Waste disposal.

5. Consumer protection.

6. Probation service.

7. Fire Brigade.

8. Police.

b. City of Birmingham

1. Local town and country planning.

2. Housing.

3. Environmental health.

4. Recreation and leisure.

5. Education.

6. Personal social services.

7. Libraries, museums and art galleries.

8. Refuse collection.

It may be also appropriate to mention at this stage two further ad hoc bodies concerned with the Urban Management field.

The West Midlands Planning Authorities Conference is made up of representatives from the Planning Authorities within the West Midlands region including the West Midlands County Council and the City of Birmingham. This body, which has a permanent study team of thirteen persons, is responsible for preparing an advisory strategy, and for information and monitoring services for the economy, land use and development in the region as a whole. It works in close co-operation with the main government departments involved, and the production of the last review of the regional strategy was undertaken as a co-operative venture between central government and local authorities.

For the inner areas of Birmingham, the Birmingham Inner City Partnership has been established, and designed to bring about the social and economic regeneration of the Inner City area. The Partnership Committee consists of representatives of government, Birmingham City Council, West Midlands County Council and the Birmingham Area Health Authority who agree a

three year rolling programme of action each year to be undertaken by public bodies, voluntary groups and the private sector. Although the budget of the Partnership is small (18 million pounds sterling in 1980/81) compared with total public sector funds, it is important as a pump-priming operation, and in fostering new initiatives.

2. THE FINANCES OF GOVERNMENT

To understand the situation with regard to urban research it is also necessary to note the financial situation as far as the public sector is concerned. Central government finance is raised by individual and organisational taxation as well as taxes through V.A.T. on goods and services. This is used to support direct government services, and a special contribution from employers and employees is also raised to contribute to social security, health and unemployment benefits.

The statutory boards pay for their services by directly charging their customers on a tariff basis, or upon the value of their property in the case of water and sewerage, and in this way they are self-supporting.

Local authority finance comes from the rates which is a local tax on property, and from central government grants. The latter now amount to approximately half to two-thirds of the finance available to local authorities in the region and areprovided by a series of grants, either relating to specific projects and services or more general grants designed to balance the needs of local authorities set against their tax base in property.

For the year ending March 1981 the revenue budget of the Birmingham City Council is 397,000,000 pounds sterling and that of the West Midlands County Council pro rata to the population of Birmingham is 85,000,000 pounds sterling. Of this total of 482,000,000 pounds sterling some 230,000,000 pounds sterling was provided by way of government grants, the rest being raised by local taxation and charging for services. No separate figures are available about the cost of central government services delivered within the City of Birmingham area.

3. LOCAL AUTHORITY POWERS IN URBAN PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT

To understand the role of urban research this section of the paper describes in a little more detail the various powers that are available to the two local

authorities. Looking firstly at the powers of the West Midlands County Council we should first of all mention Section 141 of the 1972 Local Government Act which preceded the reorganisation of Local Government in 1974. Entitled "Research and the Collection of Information" the first part of the Section states:-

> "The Council of a County may conduct or assist in the conducting of, investigations into, and the collection of information relating to, any matters concerning the County or any part of the County and may make, or assist in the making of, arrangements whereby any such information and the results of any such investigations are made available to any other local authority in the County, any government Department or the public."

With the limited exceptions relating to minor roads, the West Midlands County Council is responsible for all aspects of land transport within this area. It is responsible for the planning, construction and maintenance of roads, road safety and the provision of public transport services. It does this directly by the provision of bus services throughout the West Midlands County Council area and it supports financially the local rail services which are run on its behalf by the nationalised British Rail. The forward planning of transportation matters is, long term, through the Structure Plan which the County Council prepares as the strategic Planning Authority, and in the medium term through the five year transport policy and programme which is rolled forward each year. This sets out the estimated capital expenditure and revenue support that is to be given to public transport and other services. It is submitted each year to central government and on the basis of this the specific transport supplementary grant is made to the County Council.

Under the Town and Country Planning Act, 1971 and the Local Government Act, 1972 the County Council is responsible for strategic planning, and is required to prepare a structure plan for the County area. The structure plan, for a fifteen year period, sets out the expected future population, the distribution of major land uses and transport facilities, and generally promotes the economic and social well-being of the County area and its people. As we shall see it is an important vehicle for the collection of information and for forecasting. The County Council is also responsible for a very limited number of local plans, where they have a strategic element, and it also undertakes conservation and reclamation work.

The encouragement and promotion of economic development is a major responsibility of both the County and the District Council and involves input from many different departments. Activities include analysis and projection as to the likely future changes in the economy of the County area, the identification and development of sites for industrial use, the reclamation of derelict and waste land, and the refurbishment of old and the construction of new units for industrial use.

A feature of the Local Government Act of 1972 was that the disposal of household refuse was split from its collection and we now have the situation where the West Midlands County Council is the responsible authority for the disposal of domestic waste even though it is collected by the District Councils within its area. This reflects the strategic decisions that are often necessary for the dumping of waste material or its incineration.

Police, Fire, Consumer Protection and Probation Services are provided by the West Midlands County Council throughout its area.

The City of Birmingham is responsible in the planning field for the preparation of local plans within the Framework of the County Council's Structure Plan; the preparation and carrying out of redevelopment programmes of old areas; conservation land reclamation and landscape work; and the control of development through a universal requirement for both planning permission and building regulation permissions for all development in the U.K.. Local plans must reflect their structure plan, and provide for more detailed planning over a 5 to 10 year period for small areas within the City. Unlike the Structure Plan, which is not strictly tied to an ordnance survey base and is indicative only, local plans are very much site oriented and are intended as a means of fairly detailed control of building development on the ground.

The City Council is responsible for the provision of public sector housing, for the rehabilitation of older housing, either by giving improvement grants to owners or by carrying out the work itself. An important part of this programme is the improvement of the residential environment by rebuilding streets, communal areas, areas of open space, and the refurbishment of shopping centres and individual shops in older areas.

The Environmental Health services of the City Council are responsible for the collection of

household and commercial refuse; the enforcement of health and hygiene standards in public places and with wider environmental health matters such as air pollution, noise pollution and lead poisoning.

4. PUBLIC SECTOR RESEARCH EFFORT

The intention here is to give a general picture of the types of research being undertaken by the two local authorities and government Departments in the West Midlands. Those areas of work concerned with land, transport and physical development are dealt with first. There is no attempt to cover research relating to the health services, education, social services and similar personal service activities. The type of research undertaken can be categorised under a number of headings and this is attempted in this section. Essentially the balance of the research effort, particularly on the local authority side, is towards the gathering of the information, the forecasting of trends and the generation of short term policies designed to resolve problems that present themselves fairly immediately. Longer term and more fundamental research is something that is more characteristic of that research supported by government Departments.

INFORMATION COLLECTION. Much of the public sector efforts in the research field can be put under this first heading. A number of standard sources of information are gathered by public sector authorities and provide a fairly uniform and detailed coverage of information throughout the United Kingdom. These are as follows:-

a) The Census of Population, the last being held in 1971 and the next in 1981. Prior to 1979 there had also been a sample census in 1966 but with lack of foresight the 1976 sample census was cancelled as an economy measure. The census provides information on population, households and some aspects of housing, employment and journey to work. It is carried out by the Central Government Office of Population Census and Surveys which makes information available down to enumeration district level covering about 250 households.

b) While the Census of Population provides a benchmark every ten years which can be used as the basis for population and household projections, a number of other statistics are available on a more regular basis concerning the main factors to be taken into account in preparing such projections. Thus data on birth and death rates, fertility rates and marriage rates is available based on statistics collected by

the Registrars. In an area such as the West Midlands, migration is a much more important factor and the County Council's Central Statistical Information and Research Unit obtains information on re-registrations in the Nation Health Service Central Register for further analysis of migration flows on a quarterly basis. The results of such analysis are made available to local authorities throughout the region.

c) Information on unemployment is made available by the Government Department of Employment on the basis of employment office areas. Employment data is available from an annual census of employment for which information is generally available by employment exchange areas, and local authorities can also receive on a confidential basis, details of employment by firms. The drawback to this source of information is that it takes a long time to analyse and produce. Currently the 1977 census is awaited and those for 1979 and 1980 are not to be undertaken. The limitation on the use of unemployment and employment information is that it relates to employment exchange areas which are defined for the purposes of the Department of Employment, and in most cases the boundaries have little relationship to local authority, ward or enumeration district boundaries used by The Office of Population Census and Surveys.

Turning now to what we may call local authority information we may make a distinction between the County's needs and the District's needs. As a strategic planning and transport authority, the County is particularly interested in the highway network, its overall capacity, its accident record, its potential for carrying bus services, its state of maintenance and the broad land uses to be found alongside it. The District, however, as local planning authority, and also having responsibilities such as housing, is particularly interested in the individual property and the detailed land use of each particular one. It is only on vacant and under-used land or on particularly extensive and important land uses that the interests of the two authorities coincide.

This situation is reflected in the data-banking developments which are taking place in the two authorities. The Central Statistical Information and Research Unit is developing the Transport and Road Research Laboratory's TRAMS (Transport Referencing and Mapping System) highway network computer system as the basis of the County's approach. Most of the County's data-bank developments will be capable of linking with this system. Also, the West Midlands Passenger

Transport Executive has a Field Survey Unit which continuously monitors the use made of local bus and rail services and by way of household surveys ascertains the future needs of potential travellers. On the other hand the City of Birmingham has developed a computerised property file for the whole of its area with detailed (and at present limited) information attributable to each property. The two authorities come together in their needs for information on land resources and a joint computer system for these purposes is currently being developed along with the other six districts.

FORECASTING. This is undertaken by the Office of Populations Surveys and Census with respect to population households and migration within the United Kingdom. This information is then used in working out more detailed population projections by the West Midlands region and by the West Midlands County Council as a part of their function of preparing the Structure Plan for the County. Forecasting of employment is also undertaken by these bodies in consultation with the government departments concerned, (the Department of Employment and Department of Industry), although the time scale for forecasting is a relatively short one and is subject to a very wide range of error. Forecasting the future demand for land for housing purposes is undertaken by the regional study and the West Midlands County Council as a part of their Structure Plan work. Again, there is an attempt to forecast industrial demand by the West Midlands Regional Study, although it is as yet a very crude method.

MEDIUM TERM POLICY GENERATION. The West Midlands County Council Structure Plan, as with the majority of Structure Plans in the United Kingdom covers a fifteeen year period and the policies within it relate basically to the use of land and its development, and transportation. Forecasting has already been mentioned, and from this there is the development of what we might call medium term policies for the use of land for housing population, industry, recreation and other urban activities.

SHORT TERM POLICY GENERATION. This arises from those local authority services that are delivered directly to the public or to organisations. Through the process of service delivery, policy issues about the implementation of the service raised by customers or elected representatives, lead to the development of small scale research projects to revise the way in which the service operates or the directions that it should take. It may give rise to calls for assistance from outside consultants to offer advice or to carry

out specialised surveys, but more usually this sort of work is tackled in house by the departmental staff of the local authorities concerned.

MONITORING. The development of a regular monitoring system for urban management is coming about through the work of the Regional Study in updating their Regional strategy, and by the West Midlands County Council in structure plan work. This involves following up a number of key indicators relating to land resources, population, housing deman and industrial development (for which a special regular information collecting system is being developed). In many cases it relies upon statistics that are collected regularly by government departments, but in other cases the local authorities themselves are developing the monitoring system, particularly in relation to the use and development of land. At a smaller scale, the Birmingham Inner City Partnership is developing a monitoring system for the Inner City area of Birmingham, again covering a significant number of indicators, but in this case relying almost entirely on information that is primarily collected for other uses.

FUNDAMENTAL LONG TERM RESEARCH. This has been separated from the previous types of research described, and can be characterised by being designed to raise questions and re-assess some of the fundamental principles upon which local government and its services currently operate. As might be expected,it is not usually to be found within, or supported by, local authorities - for a number of reasons that will be touched upon later. It is therefore to be found primarily in polytechnics and universities, in academic departments and is funded primarily from government sources, although some private trusts may well also make funds available. Government sources of funding in the urban management field come either direct from the Department of the Environment to sponsor a significant number of projects in any one year, or via the Social Science Research Council, one of four government sponsored Research Councils, who use government funding to sponsor research projects and studentships in academic institutions.

## 5. AGENCIES FOR RESEARCH

Attention now turns to the institutional situations within which urban research is undertaken and the degree of co-operation that exists between

different types of agency.

PUBLIC SECTOR IN-HOUSE RESEARCH: The development of local authority services in the United Kingdom has been on the basis of departments run and staffed by a high proportion of professionally qualified persons. In this respect it is in contrast with the central government's Civil Service which has professionally qualified staff in a number of technical areas, but is run primarily by a hierarchy of administrative officers who have no specialised technical or professional training.

The strong professional ethic in local authority departments gives rise to the general acceptance that research should be a part of the organisation and structure of the local authority department. For most professional services such as Town and Country Planning, Housing, Environmental Health, and Transportation there will be a research and information type of group in, certainly, Metropolitan Authorities. They may well be small, reflecting the amount of public finance available, and the low esteem with which research is sometimes held by local authority elected members.

Both central and local government in the U.K. is characterised traditionally by strong individual departments with a rather weak linking mechanism between them. The 1970's saw the development of stronger centralised planning mechanisms within local authorities, with the creation of a Chief Executive's Department and, in many cases, a central intelligence or policy unit responsible for information collecting and research for the authority as a whole. With the reorganisation of local government in 1974, both the City of Birmingham and the West Midlands County Council appointed Chief Executives and attached research and intelligence sections to them. Such units have been the subject of much discussion since the role and function of a central unit as a co-ordinating body, by implication, places some curbs on the activities of individual departments and their Committees. In the case of the City Council, both the post of Chief Executive and the Central Intelligence Unit have been abandoned. In the County, on the other hand, the Central Statistical Information and Research Unit has been transferred from the Chief Executive's Secretariat to the County Planning Department.

The cycle of events during the 1970's in the West Midlands is paralleled by similar developments in other parts of the United Kingdom, although the swing away from centralised planning intelligence and policy units in local government has been stronger than

average in Birmingham and the West Midlands. Thus a large proportion of the research effort is the responsibility of individual local authority departments. Whilst there is internal liaison to avoid duplication of departmental efforts, research priorities are the priorities of departments rather than the local authority as a whole.

This characteristic is even stronger in Government research activities. Although the Central Policy Review Staff organisation was brought together as a part of the Cabinet Office (more popularly known as the Government's "Think Tank") its research efforts have concentrated on a number of specific issues only, and its resources are minute compared with that of individual Government departments. C.P.R.S. research does not relate directly to the West Midlands and Birmingham, and that which is in-house, is carried out by the Regional Office of the Department of the Environment. It is very minimal and mainly concentrates upon the analysis of information gathered by other agencies. As will be mentioned later most Government research in the urban management field is carried out by commissioned agencies.

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN LOCAL AUTHORITIES: The City of Birmingham along with other District Councils in the West Midlands County area is involved in a co-operative effort with the County Council in the preparation of the Structure Plan for the area. Whilst the preparation and decisions about the Structure Plan are a County Council function, some of the information required for it comes from District Council sources, and there is a strong mutual interest in having common information for a number of fields between the two levels of authority. A Joint Information Group between the County Council and District Councils within the County area has been established. This has the responsibility of determining the structure and nature of the information collection activities to be undertaken for the County area. (The terms of reference of the Group are given in Appendix 'A'). Each individual authority then uses the information in whatever way it wishes, such as in the prepareation of the Structure Plan by the County Council, or by a District Council in the preparation of local plans.

A particular aspect of District and County operation via the Joint Information Group is the development of a computerised land resources system where the information will be supplied primarily from District Council sources, but the West Midlands County Council will hold the information on their computer and make either analysis or tapes available to

District Council users.

This co-operation extends to the Birmingham Inner City Partnership programme which is supported by government departments as well as the City Council and County Council. It does not have a strong research bias, although a small number of research projects are sponsored, such as the survey of persons who have bought recently built houses in the Inner City area.

The West Midlands Planning Authorities conference in turn represents a co-operative effort between Authorities in the wider West Midlands region. They pay for the services of a permanent study team of about thirteen staff who are responsible for the preparation and update of the strategy for the West Midlands, as well as its subsequent monitoring.

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT: Co-operation exists, primarily in relation to forecasting for the regional strategy and the work of the County Council in dealing with the West Midlands Structure Plan. Much of the research requirements of the Department of the Environment is undertaken through commissioned research projects involving only limited co-operation with local authorities.

SPONSORED RESEARCH: As far as local authorities are concerned, sponsored research is limited, normally related to specific issues, and used for either short or medium term policy formulation and problem solving. The following are some recent examples:

West Midlands County Council

a) N.O.P. Market Research Ltd : Structure Plan 1% household survey of the County area (10% in some Inner Areas), 1976/7 : 70,000 pounds sterling. The analysis of results was done by the County Council.

b) Edward Erdman and Co : Survey of shopping centres and advice on shopping policy, 1978/9: 50,000 pounds sterling.

c) University of Aston, Joint Unit for Research in the Urban Environment : Bilston Steelworks redevelopment feasibility study 1979/80: 40,000 pounds sterling (Funded jointly by West Midlands County Council, Wolverhampton Metropolitan District Council, British Steel Corporation, European Coal and Steel Community).

d) Cartographical Services (Southampton Ltd) :

Air photographic survey of the County 1980/81: 20,000 pounds sterling.

City of Birmingham

University of Birmingham, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies: Survey of small industrial firms in Small Heath (an Inner City area) 1975/6.

The Department of the Environment as a central government department concerned with urban management and development, more extensively sponsors research work by polytechnics and university departments. This work tends to be more fundamental in its approach and relates to longer term policy issues in many instances. Very often, it involves making use of information held by local authorities and access to this is readily granted in most instances, although the local authorities themselves normally have little say in the steering or direction of the research project concerned. Compared with the expenditure by local authorities, research funded by Government is considerable, and for Birmingham alone is more than that sponsored by the two local authorities together.

A small range of research activities has been sponsored by the Birmingham Inner City Partnership and funded by the Department of the Environment, as follows:-

a) Citizens Advice Bureau : Local advice needs in the inner areas of Birmingham 1978/9, 19,000 pounds sterling.

b) Manpower Studies Unit, Warwick University : Literature review of local labour markets, 1979, 1,300 pounds sterling.

c) Birmingham Polytechnic : Operating environment of small firms, 1979/80, 9,000 pounds sterling.

d) Dr. Pyke, practising G.P. : Preventive medicine 1979/80, 12,000 pounds sterling.

6. CURRENT PRESSURES ON URBAN RESEARCH

Discussion of urban research in Birmingham and the West Midlands must be set against a background of limited growth in national economic resources and a gradual reduction in the level of public sector funds, particularly during the last year. It may also be appropriate to suggest that the general environment of

research for urban management has changed, from that concerned during the 1950's and 60's, with the problems of expansion and the location of new development and transport facilities, to one that must be more concerned with the problems of no growth, poverty and discrimination, the refurbishment of existing facilities and the means of generating economic growth.

In local government the traditional means of decision taking has been through elected members and their Committees. Indeed, although some decisions are now delegated to officers, it is still a legal requirement that the responsibility for decision taking is vested with Committees of local authority members, who are thereby, in theory at least, and to quite a remarkable extent in practice as well, involved in the detail of day-to-day management as well as the wider policy issues. Traditionally also it may be relevant to note that the development of local government in the United Kingdom from the 19th century was very much upon the basis of providing fundamental services such as roads, sewers and water and only in more recent years has the scope of local government functions widened into other fields. Therefore, there is a very strong emphasis upon service provision, with fairly detailed control by elected representatives, which contrasts, and sometimes conflicts, with the previously described strong professional bias in local authority departments.

The effect of this on the management of urban research is that its extent and scope is influenced by local and political considerations. Two sorts of views are common, firstly, that sponsored research from outside bodies is only undertaken as a last resort, as the local authority departments should have the expertise to do the work themselves. Secondly, and slightly in contradiction, it is felt that extensive research should not be necessary, (particularly, research of a fundamental nature, as described previously), as this is not the concern of local authority departments, whose prime function is to deliver services to the public and to organisations within the urban area.

This view is perhaps strongest within the City Council by reason of its longer history of civic tradition and the fact that its services are supplied to a fairly small area. The West Midlands County Council is not quite so constrained by this view as it is the strategic planning authority for the wider County area and implicit in that work is an important information gathering and monitoring function as far as the planning service is concerned. It also has the

wider research functions imposed by the Local Government Act, 1972, as well as information gathering for waste disposal and transport.

There are, however, counter pressures on local authorities calling for more information and better informed research. Ironically one such source is from locally elected members, who wish to know more about the effect of services, how they can be improved or made cost effective. Additionally the greater public concern with the activities of government at all levels, has made it necessary for local authorities to justify their actions and proposals, particularly in the planning field. Thus it can be seen that there are tensions between the calls for policies to be better founded on fact, and the view that research is not a proper activity for an organisation whose main aim is to deliver services to the public. From this tension comes a careful scrutiny of research needs, which is as it should be where public funds are involved, although the ultimate level achieved is barely sufficient to support policies. Pressures on Government research have, traditionally been less, and of a different nature to those of local authorities. The Government's administration has already been described as one where professional technical officers are in a minority (unlike local government). This may be a clue to the very limited amount of in-house research, other than in specialised institutions, such as the Building Research Station, and Transport and Road Research Laboratory, and the extensive sponsorship of consultants. Government is also concerned with national issues rather than those which are local and particular (although it does not take much to make a local issue a national one!). This may help to explain the willingness of Departments to sponsor research that is more fundamental in nature about society and its environment. Conversely, the strong administrative ethic of Government departments discourages research aimed at self examination.

## 7. EVALUATION

In this section there is an attempt to make some judgements and come to some conclusions about the nature and scope of research and its management within the case study area.

The most marked characteristic of urban research in Birmingham and the West Midlands is that the major part of it is closely related to the on-going activities of local authorities and government departments in delivering services to individuals or organisations. It therefore tends to be either short

or medium term, with a large effort devoted to information collection and less concern with asking the more fundamental questions of how are the public services performing, or whether they are doing the right things. Where this more fundamental research is undertaken, it is by academic institutions relying for the most part upon Government funds which come direct, from the Department of the Environment, or through the Social Science Research Council.

The strength of this spread of research activity, is that the public sector services have a reasonable basis for policy formulation in a number of fields, certainly those which have traditionally been a focal point of professional interest (e.g. population, housing, land use and employment). The range of information available compares very favourably to that available in other E.E.C. countries in spite of the comment earlier in the paper that it was barely minimal. There are, however, notable gaps in information which local authorities cannot fill given their present resources, (in particular, housing conditions, the movement of industrial firms between the West Midlands conurbation and elsewhere, and information on retail sales. - The Census of Distribution has now lapsed.)

Inevitably there may be occasions when political differences arise between local authorities. However, this has not hindered the good co-operation on information collecting and research matters between the County Council and the City Council in areas of mutual interest. What is lacking perhaps is the level of financial support which is necessary to achieve a broader and sounder base.

Information collection and research for the West Midlands Region through the West Midlands Planning Authorities Conference has been more difficult, as in the wider community of interest, there is also more opportunity for conflict of interest. However, two successive strategies have been produced and as indicated earlier a region wide information system does exist for some items of information.

Notwithstanding the commendable co-operation between local authorites in some areas, it must be said that the overall management of research in the case study area is weak, indeed non-existent. Duplication of effort is avoided, (just), but the overall priorities for research in the urban environment are not clearly defined and therefore the priorities of individual departments and agencies prevail.

Links between local authorities and central government sponsored research are particularly weak and there is significant room for improvement. Whilst local Authorities are willing, in most instances to provide the information for government sponsored research projects undertaken by Polytechnic and University departments, there does not appear to be, at least from the outside, a firm policy on the part of the Department of the Environment about the nature or direction of the research effort that it is supporting.

As an example, funds were set aside for specific inner city research some two years ago. The procedure thereafter was for the Department of the Environment to respond to suggestions that came from academic institutions, rather than the Department itself setting out the particular areas that it wished to have investigated. In determining the range of projects that would be supported, and in the subsequent arrangements for directing that research whilst it was being undertaken, there was very little contact between the Department of the Environment and local authorities.

This latter weakness throws into doubt the value of some of the sponsored research that is undertaken. This is either because the researchers have not fully appreciated the complexity of local authority operations, or because the absence of involvement means that there is not the commitment on the part of local authority officers or members to develop the findings of the research work into local authority policy and practice.

These conclusions point to a need for a locally based forum to agree research priorities between public sector agencies, and for involving academic institutions. This may be greeted with a cry of "yet another talk shop" but there are beneficial decisions that can be taken which would ensure that the research expenditure already committed in Birmingham and the West Midlands can be used in responding effectively to the many needs of the area.

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APPENDIX 'A'

JOINT INFORMATION GROUP

TERMS OF REFERENCE

The Joint Information Group will be responsible to the Joint Chief Executives Group for the following:-

1. To ensure as far as possible compatibility of the information base used in the development of the County Structure Plan by co-ordinating the collection of information.

2. To ensure as far as possible that an accurate quantitative interpretation and presentation of information is made in the County Structure Plan.

3. To report on the ways in which the information base used in the County Structure Plan may be maintained and extended for the purposes of monitoring and future planning activities.

4. To establish a mechanism for survey co-ordination throughout the County area.

5. To co-ordinate the analysis of the 1981 Census for the County area.

6. To report to the Joint Chief Executives Group on future work and organisaton to support inter-authority information flows and the integration of information in Joint County/District activities.

To perform these responsibilities may require:-

1. Advising the Joint Chief Executives Group on the need for joint information studies to support data collection and analysis.

2. Recommending the adoption of specific standards, systems or common approaches for data and information.

3. Developing communications with other groups in order to ensure adequate information coverage and to eliminate potential duplication.

4. Establishing and directing working groups, where required, in collaboration with other groups, to pursue particular topics.

# 9. THE CITY/UNIVERSITY CONSORTIUM EXPERIENCE IN DETROIT, U.S.A.

Dr. Otto Feinstein and Jean Dietrick Rooney, Wayne State University, Detroit.

## THE CONCEPT

The Detroit City/University Consortium is an effort at linking the system of the University with the system of the City for the purpose of increasing resources to resolve urban issues. It is designed as a complement and not as an alternative to existing relations between the City and the University or the University with Federal, State and other agencies concerned with urban issues.

## LEVEL ONE CONCEPTS

The level one concepts deal with the present state of utilisation of University and City resources:

1. The University has resources currently used by the City.
2. The University has resources which could be used by the City, but are not.
3. The University has potential resources which could be used by the City.
4. The University has potential resources which might be used by the City.
5. The City has resources currently used by the University.
6. The City has resources which could be used by the University, but are not.
7. The City has potential resources which could be used by the University.
8. The City has potential resources which might be used by the University.
9. It is beneficial to both institutions to maximize utilisation of each other's existing and potential resources.

10. It is beneficial to society and knowledge to have both institutions do so.

Such explorations were done by a series of "hearings" on themes of mutual interest in the summer of 1977 in Detroit. City and University experts were brought together in groups of 20 - 30 by theme for six hours of discussion and lunch. The validity of the ten points and their current state of realisation were manifested by these meetings.

LEVEL TWO CONCEPTS

To realize the potential of the level one concepts it is also necessary to understand the nature and dynamics of the two institutions involved. This is the function of the level two concepts.

1. The University and the City are two different (though not necessarily conflicting or antagonistic) systems with functions, structure, and dynamics, which must be understood if a systemic relation is to be developed.

2. The University is an institution designed to make knowledge and knowers; it has research (basic and applied), education, and service functions; it has human and material resources and an organisational structure to carry out these functions; it operates on a relatively long-term time-frame and responds to ideas.

3. The City is an institution designed to make laws and establish procedures related to urban problems; it has planning (long and short term), service, enforcement, and education functions; it has human material resources and an organisation to carry out these functions; it operates on a relatively short-term time frame and responds to events and actions.

4. Neither institution has optimal levels of resources nor optimal efficiency in actual or potential resource utilisation.

To make apparent this second level of concepts we initiated a number of studies on models of City/University inter-relation in other parts of the country and studies analysing these systems and their interactions. We also studied the 15 year history of inter-relations between these institutions in Detroit. This was done in 1977 as part of a modest NSF grant. It was clear that knowledge of each other's systems was limited and that the number and intensity of

relations was limited and basically peripheral to both systems.

LEVEL THREE CONCEPTS

This brought us to the level three concepts, to the conditions for systemic collaboration:

1. Cooperative behaviour between institutions (systems) requires respect (knowledge) of their basic functions, dynamics and environment.

2. Cooperative behaviour between them requires will and need from each.

3. Cooperation is likely to continue and increase if "rewarded" and supported internally, mutually, and externally.

4. As systems are different, and differences are not mutually known, friction and mistakes are inherent in all efforts of cooperation. To deal with these, familiarity with how each system deals with failures, mistakes, and friction must be known. The survival, reward and punishment systems must thus also be known.

5. There can be no inter-institutional (inter-system) cooperation without inter-personal cooperation (both between and within the institutions).

6. The cooperative effort must eventually become part of both systems, and not remain peripheral or extra-system, if it is a real systemic inter-relation.

These concepts had to be built into the structure and operations of the Detroit Consortium if it was to succeed. We knew from previous experience that no matter how worthy the cause, or how impressive the commitments, ignoring these concepts would soon mean failure.

LEVEL FOUR CONCEPTS (PROCEDURE)

The level four concepts deal with how to proceed, given the three previous sets of concepts.

1. Look at current cooperation, its evolution and dynamics, from the perspective of the previous three levels of concepts.

2. Look at the potential cooperation from the perspective of the three levels of concepts.

3. Develop a strategy and specific projects to move from current into potential cooperation based on the three levels of concepts.

This is exactly what we set out to do in 1977, and leads us to how these four level concepts, when applied, became the City/University Consortium.

## HISTORY OF THE DETROIT CITY/UNIVERSITY CONSORTIUM

In the fall of 1976 Wayne State University, the University of Michigan and the City of Detroit became engaged in a new way of utilising each other's resources. Using a small grant from the National Science Foundation, the City/University Consortium was born. Its first three projects reflected our thinking about the four conceptual levels. Project One consisted of three parts - Wayne State University, the University of Michigan, and the City of Detroit, independently reviewed their mutual relations around urban research and service over the past 15 years, and made some recommendations regarding issues of more intensive future collaboration. Project Two consisted of an inquiry to City Departments as to what issues they would like University persons to work on. These were then circulated to Wayne State University and University of Michigan faculty for rapid response. This process was then studied (Feinstein and Musial, 1977).

The third project - "The Hearings" - brought together people from the two universities, the city, and others to discuss key urban concerns which might be worked on collaboratively. Such issues as neighbourhood indicators, cultural development, urban life cycles, paid educational leave, energy and environmental policies, and others were discussed at day-long sessions by groups of 12 - 30 people. (Feinstein and Seaver, 1977).

From the beginning, it was intended that the Consortium would not be just a "pilot programme... to relieve temporary problems; it was designed to continue for an extended time period ... to trigger new ventures." (Feinstein and Musial, 1977).

At the end of the 1977 fiscal year the entire experience was reviewed and a proposal for continuing the programmes and projects that had been started was submitted for multi-institutional funding. With a commitment of $33,250 from Wayne State University in November of 1977, the current structure of the Consortium began to emerge in the form of a "service element": consultations, policy options and mini-research; and collaborative elements: hearings working groups, and indicator studies. The actual contract with the City of Detroit was finalised in the summer of 1978, and this financial resource was used to fund the Consortium for the 1978/79 fiscal period.

EVOLUTION OF THE BASIC STRUCTURE

The Consortium Coordinating Committee, which started formal operations in 1977 had, and still has, the central structural role in the ongoing operations of the Consortium. Its members include top level representatives from the Mayor's Office, and several other key city departments, and University representatives associated with the various Wayne State University urban projects, including the Centre for Urban Studies. Decision is by consensus, though each party (City and University) has formal voting equality. The central coordination includes the processing, discussion and decisions on requests from city departments; and initiative and oversight of the collaborations which occur on issues of common interest.

In late January 1978, city departments were officially notified (via a memo from the Deputy Mayor's office and a meeting with him) of the Consortium's purpose, though contacts before that time had already begun to generate some requests for service. From March 1978 to the present, the Coordinating Committee has met monthly, to deal with requests, review reports, assign responsibilities, and do long range planning and evaluation. Occasional day long self-evaluation and planning meetings set basic directions which are implemented at the monthly luncheon meetings. In Spring of 1979 a part-time staff person was hired (Rooney, 1979). In 1979/80 an in-depth evaluation of the Consortium was funded by the National Science Foundation. The results included a history of the first years of the Consortium, an evaluation of 15 of the early consultations and projects, and a process evaluation of the Consortium Committee from 1979-80, ascertaining elements of the model which were both feasible and replicable for other areas.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CONSORTIUM

In its short life, the Consortium first developed the detailed methods necessary for effectively providing the "service element":- to respond to requests from city departments for expertise and skill to deal with a particular problem requiring analysis, recommendations or policy proposals. These showed that the University could address itself to the timing and content needs of the City. The City people determined which requests to present and the University people responded by saying that they had people who could do the work within the time or that they did not. Given the feeling of many city people that the University could not respond within their time frame or with content that solved their type of problems, this approach was critical.

The "service element" was, and is, developmental just as the entire Consortium was developmental. The first level of development was called consultations. These were issues which could normally be effectively solved with the allocation of one to ten days of a consultant's time. Often the first half day or day is spent in a meeting of the city department person and the consultant to see the city context of the problem, outline the problem itself, and set the parameters and goals of the consultant's work. In a number of cases one to three days was sufficient in providing the service desired. Some of these short consultations, however, led to the identification of larger and more long term projects, and would then be expanded (if approved by the Consortium Committee) to the next two developmental stages of the service element: policy option papers and/or mini-research. Common to all service activity was its origin: requests from the City side of the Consortium.

In its two and a half years of life the Consortium funded 38 service projects, involving 22 different City departments and 20 departments of the University. Nine of these resulted in proposals for a more in-depth research study or training project, and five became proposals to federal agencies. An illustrative sample of types of service consultations and the departments involved, follows.

1. Spring 1978 - Department of Transportation and Science/Technology Division of University Studies/ Weekend College of WSU - request to assess the Human Relations Course given to city bus drivers and make recommendations for improving it. This resulted in a major grant proposal to the Federal Department of Transportation to design and institute a totally new

training course for bus drivers.

2. Summer 1978 - Detroit Historical Museum and History Department of the University - request for a team of people to evaluate the museum exhibits from the point of view of educational uses with school age children and handicapped, and to assess needs to reflect the black heritage of Detroit more clearly. Four consultants were involved, spent half a day touring the museum and half a day in writing a combined final report and recommendations.

3. Summer 1978 - Housing Department and Urban Planning Department of the University - an alarming rate of turnover in public housing needed an accurate study to ascertain the extent of the problem and possible causes. A summer was spent on this study providing a base for Departmental planning for rehabilitation and conversion of units.

4. Autumn 1978 - Parks & Recreation Department and Science/Technology Division - request was for a feasibility study for a solar and wind powered demonstration home. This led to a joint project of City and State and construction trade unions, employers and students in actually building such a museum/demonstration site.

5. 1979 - Health Department of the City and Department of Community Medicine of Medical School - request for policy option paper on implementation of State law merging City and County Health Departments.

6. 1979 - Detroit Council of the Arts and wide range of University Departments - mobilisation of resources to work with cultural committees of the River Front Ethnic Festivals (over 4,000,000 attendance). Some thirty experts worked with 20 ethnic groups and three City Departments.

7. 1980 - Finance Department of the City and Business Administration School (WSU) - request for series of seminars in auditing, mini-computers and word processing to update and upgrade city employees.

8. 1980 - Personnel Department and a variety of University departments - curriculum development for city worker pre-retirement planning and a course on understanding city government for new employees.

These projects were not only aimed at dealing with real City issues but also at creating common positive experience between as many city and university departments and personnel as possible. A briefer listing of the remaining 30 projects enhances this picture:

9. Water & Sewage - Water Department - Civil Engineering - water flow problems in new city waterlines.

10. Lead Based Paint - Planning Department - Law School - proposal for grant to deal with this issue.

11. Management Analysis - Senior Citizen Department and Political Science Faculty - organisational analysis, staff roles, communication.

12. Mechanics Training - Environmental Protection Department and various University Departments - assess needs/develop training proposals.

13. Printshop Evaluation - Public Information Department and School of Business Administration - options in relation to internal capability or use of commercial vendors.

14. Reading Skills - Personnel and various University Departments - reading skill levels of city workers and programmes available for upgrading these skills.

15. Youth Employment - Planning Department and various University Depts.- youth training and employment in relation to maintenance of housing for aged.

16. Cultural Development plan - Various departments on both sides - proposal to Federal government to study needs, resources, and possibilities in meeting local and tourist cultural needs.

17. Curriculum Development - Various departments - for City Neighbourhood City Hall workers. Then implementation.

18. Curriculum Development - Various departments - for City Forestry workers (600) and then implementation.

19. Curriculum Development - Various departments - for City Cultural workers.

20. Clerical Training - Various departments - skills and knowledge.

21. Energy Conservation - Many City Departments and Geology Dept.(WSU) implementation of a major energy conservation plan and assessment procedure in city owned facilities.

22. Snow Removal - Mayor's Office and Center for Urban Studies - survey of citizen response to experimental snow removal plans tried by City in previous winter - and policy options.

23. Curriculum Development - Total training package for City Purchasing Department.

24. Medical Social Work - Goals, Objectives and staffing patterns for new city medical social work division.

25. Racial Steering - Human Rights Department and Sociology - identification of discriminatory housing practices in the city.

26. Substance Abuse - City Health Department and Community Medicine. Recommendations for forming Community Advisory Committees.

27. Education of City Workforce - Preliminary survey of educational needs of city workers.

28. New Careers Study - Mayor's Office and Political Science - evaluation of impact of 1960's OEO "New Careers" Program.

29. Consumer Affairs - Information retrieval system.

30. Consumer Affairs - Utilisation of Volunteers in City Department.

31. City Airport - Develop auditing procedures and fee structure for concessions at the City Airport.

32. Maintenance Workers - Design for training of workers at Art Institute who handle valuable art objects.

33. Evaluation of Exhibits - on North American Indians at Great Lakes Museum.

34. Black History Tour - Design tour for Recreation Department

35. Economic Development - Assess actual and potential role of Arts, Leisure, and Culture Industry for Detroit's economic life.

36. Civic Centre Security - Evaluation of Security System and recommendation for options at Civic Centre.

37. City Airport - Comparison of concession rates, procedures, policy to those of other city-owned airports in U.S.

38. Golf Courses - Evaluation of present use and improvement needs for City owned Golf Courses for Recreation Department.

Out of these service components, which were the basic activity of the first two years, collaborative components are now emerging. The first three major areas deal with the total educational needs and activity of the city government; the reality and potential of the Arts, Leisure, and Culture Industry; and the Ethnic Riverfront Festivals. These are joint projects with teams of people from both City and University and with a part-time staff person. It is also probable that in 1980/81 the consortium will sponsor "hearings" on a monthly basis, involving 12 - 20 city and university people, discussing an issue of mutual interest, for the purpose of finding additional service or collaborative activities.

## THE POTENTIAL OF THE CONSORTIUM

The 1978 and the 1979/80 evaluations pinpointed some of the strengths of the City/University model.

1. It is new, flexible, "non-top-heavy", productive for the modest amount of funding, and capable of adaptation and expansion in relation to real needs.

2. It is a working model of real knowledge utilisation and knowledge creation with impacts on both City and

University in their core activities.

3. The model can lead to strong systemic linkages (including exchange of personnel) which preserves the essential function of the two different institutions while making their immense resources available to each other.

4. This model had the potential of bringing significant new issues and perspectives into both teaching and research in urban higher education institutions; as it develops it can become a major resource to the city and its people in dealing with both short and long run issues.

5. As a model it is adaptable to most other urban environments.

SOME CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

As we return to the four levels of concepts discussed at the start of this paper and integrate them with the information here presented, we conclude as follows:

Level One - A simple low cost model can turn departments (or individuals) who are not current resources to the city into highly-desired resources: humanities people in relation to the Arts, Leisure, Culture, or Industry; Geologists in relation to major energy savings, etc. Within the short time of operation of the Consortium we have moved from resources currently used to using resources "which might be used". The secondary (unseen) impact on the primary functions of both systems is not yet clear, but there has been such impact on teaching and research in the University and on some basic operations of the City.

Level Two - The knowledge of the different functions and dynamics of the two institutions was critical for the development of the structure of the Consortium. The ability to meet the different needs of the two systems by joint, modest actions has set up the preconditions for fundamental collaboration and sharing of resources.

Level Three - The simple organisational structure of monthly meetings between people who know each other's system and who are known to these systems, combined with the success

of the great majority of activities, result in good-will and openness - the current rewards. Further rewards within each system emanating from the success of the projects is not yet clear, but will have much to do with the growth and survival of the Consortium.

Level Four - The experiences of the last three years and the gap between current and potential levels of cooperation between City and University are known by the Consortial Committee and have been well studied by means of the NSF sponsored evaluation. In the coming year there will be thorough discussion and then further policy action to continue the movement into utilisation of other potential resources by both systems.

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# 10. IMPROVING THE MANAGEMENT OF URBAN RESEARCH IN IRELAND :

David H. Stewart

## 1. INTRODUCTION

As a background document to the Symposium, this paper attempts to explain how a relatively small country like Ireland, with a large number of local authorities and a scarcity of relevant manpower resources, attempts to provide a research and advisory service for local authorities. Against a brief background of the nature of change facing local authorities in Ireland, the legislative and administrative framework is explained. The scope of environmental research is then briefly outlined as reflecting the nature of the problems. The key issues confronting the Symposium are then explored. These include, inter alia, the identification of the user's research needs; the ordering of priorities against a defined budget; allocating limited but varied resources; disseminating results in different time scales and obtaining a feedback dialogue. The paper concludes with some comments on the current matters of concern to research management, derived from the Irish experience and needs, that may be taken up in comparative case studies.

Throughout the paper the term 'environmental planning research' is used so as to include both the urban and rural studies which characterise the Irish scene. Also the term 'local authority' is used to reflect the technical and administrative aspects of management responsibilities within municipal government.

## 2. ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE IN IRELAND

The forces of environmental change operating in Ireland, as elsewhere, are many and varied. There is a background in our history over the last hundred years, of low density population, slow development of industrial activity, low income levels and, with the single exception of Dublin, comparatively small urban units. In each case, change is manifesting itself to a greater or lesser degree.

The Census of Population for both 1966 and 1971 showed a rise in the total population which reversed the trend existing from 1841 to 1966, during which time the population total fell from over 6 million to 2.8 million. According to the Central Statistics Office the current growth of population is expected to continue, giving a total of 3.5 million people by 1986. These changes in the demographic circumstances of the country are also reflected in the changing pattern of urbanisation. The Census of Population for 1971 shows, for example, that while the national population increased by 3.3 per cent between 1966 and 1971, the total number of people living in towns of 1,500 or more inhabitants increased by 7.7 per cent while the Dublin region increased its share to one third of the total population of the State, thus, emphasising a problem of 'regional imbalance'.

This growth in urbanisation and movement of population is, of course, a reflection of the changes in economic activity taking place as the higher percentage share of employment shifts from agriculture to the more urbanised activities of the manufacturing and service industries. Although there is a basic change to urbanised economic activities, 23.8 per cent is still a relatively high proportion of people to be engaged in agriculture. This will, no doubt, continue to decline, but combined with an unemployment rate of around 9 per cent, a growing population, a high birth rate and with over 55 per cent of the population under the age of thirty, this presents some challenging social problems within the urbanisation process.

Difficulties inevitably arise in accommodating this process of growth and change which, if not managed on an informed and co-ordinated basis, carries a serious threat of degrading the quality of life which is essential to its enjoyment. Ireland is fortunate in so much as it should be in a position to learn the lessons of other countries where population movement and urban growth have led to traffic congestion, pollution, destruction of amenity features,and discontent in both the scale and nature of the environmental change. Equally, the changes on the Irish scene demand that urban management derives its techniques and methodologies from the uniqueness of Irish history, character and social milieu.

## 3. THE ADMINISTRATIVE CONTEXT OF URBAN MANAGEMENT

The need to participate actively in the political and administrative processes may be a characteristic of a newly independent country. This was reflected in the organisation of the State when it was founded in 1922. In relation to the size of the population a

large number of local councils was established which, although reorganisation is a subject of current debate, has not been changed since that time. By 1977, the population of Ireland was 3,192,3000 and was divided into:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4 | County Boroughs with Corporation Councils | i.e. Cities of Dublin, Cork, Waterford and Limerick |
| 7 | Boroughs with Corporation Councils | i.e. Smaller cities ranging from 12,000 to 90,000 |
| 49 | Urban Districts with Councils | i.e. Towns ranging from 14,000 to 24,000 |
| 28 | Towns with Commissioners | i.e. Villages |
| 27 | Counties | Mainly the rural and landward areas ranging from 25,000 people |

With the exception of the Towns with Commissioners, the other eighty-seven local authorities are virtually 'all purpose' agencies for the environmental, and infrastructural services of roads, housing, water supply, sanitation and planning. As can be expected, most of the management and technical services of the smaller authorities, i.e. the Urban Districts, are provided by those serving the larger authorities - the Counties.

The basis for urban (and rural) management in Ireland was laid down in 1929 by the City and County Management Act which established the position of Manager, or Chief Executive, of the local authority. The Manager of the County is, in fact, also the Manager of all the boroughs, urban districts and towns which fall within the County. This, in effect, means that although there are 115 elected local councils of one form or another, they are served by the 31 management and technical teams found in the Counties and the County Boroughs. Schools, health provision, transportation, police, industrial development, electricity supply, and tourism on the other hand, are all provided nationally but often through a Regional Authority or organisation. A great deal of coordinating effort is, therefore, necessary to ensure comprehensive planning and management; but the debate continues as to what constitutes a satisfactory balance between needs of urban management which seems to favour large organisations, and the need for local

or citizen participation which seems to favour the smaller scale of elected councils.

The Local Government (Planning and Development) Acts of 1963 and 1976 provide the statutory context for managing the physical resources within the local authority area. Various other legislations provide for the implementation of the development of roads, housing and sanitary services, including water supply and pollution control. The Development Plan, however, is the statutory requirement for expressing the policy of the local authority in promoting, co-ordinating and controlling development. This Development Plan is required by law to be prepared and reviewed every five years, and includes a provision for the views of the public to be obtained prior to being adopted by their elected representatives on the Council.

Appeals against proposed development or planning decisions are resolved within the local authority in the first instance, but, if not satisfactorily concluded, may be decided by the Planning Appeals Board. This is an independent body, chaired by a High Court judge, which is the final arbiter except on a point of law. The administrative system in Ireland which reflects the society's need for a large number of local councils with relatively small electorates, but balanced by the practicalities of staff resources which are limited by cost, has to serve a most comprehensive legislation. The dynamics of population growth and the forces of economic change that are currently manifesting themselves are harsh challenges to the small number of people involved in environmental management in Ireland. As a practical illustration of this, in 1979 there were 167 planners based in the 31 local authorities with the responsibility of preparing and reviewing 115 statutory Development Plans; at the same time as they have to carry out the day to day management of development control. Of these 167 planners - 63 of whom were in Dublin City and County - only 104 had a formal qualification in Urban and Regional Planning.

## 4. THE ROLE OF RESEARCH IN ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE

The context of technical and management organisation for guiding development can, therefore, be seen against a background of recent population growth and economic change. This and the strong forces or urbanisation allow the role of environmental research to be identified, but as can be imagined there are many difficulties as to topics and priorities when finance and trained staff are in short supply.

The folllowing are the principal research institutes complementing each other's activities and generally covering the field of urban management and environmental change:

(a) National Institute for Physical Planning and Construction Research (AFF)

(b) Institute of Public Administration (IPA)

(c) Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI)

(d) Institute for Industrial Research & Standards (IIRS)

(e) Agricultural Research Institute (AFT)

These State-aided research institutes are associated closely with various Government Departments, local authorities and executive agencies. The recently established National Board for Science and Technology (NBST) is required to advise Government on the coordination and funding of research activity and also to bring to bear the full potential of the Universities' contribution to environmental science.

The Institute most involved with environmental research is the National Institute for Physical Planning and Construction Research (An Foras Forbartha). The Institute was founded with the assistance of the United Nations in 1964 - the year after the first Planning and Development Act became law. The Institute is now funded by an annual grant from the Department of the Environment and through commissioned studies from local authorities and other State development agencies, e.g. the Industrial Development Authority, Electricity Supply Board, Irish Tourist Board, regional development organisations etc.

The Institute is organised in four Divisions each concerned with research, training and advisory work covering the four main aspects of the physical environment and to a great extent, mirroring the technical services of the local authority. In many senses, therefore, research, training and advice go hand-in-hand as a 'back-up' facility with the executive agents. The Environmental Planning Division covers urban and regional planning, ecological studies, landscape and urban design; the Roads Division includes road traffic, road safety and road construction; the Water Resources Division covers water resources management including quality and quantity aspects; and the Construction Division researches design and efficiency in the construction industry.

## 5. ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING RESEARCH

Ireland, like many other countries, has to maximise the benefits of limited financial resources. The achievement of the social and economic hopes for the future demands the careful management of all resources, not least those required for the use and development of land. The shortage of skills involved in research, planning and management of environmental change is an added incentive to ensure that all contributors work hand in hand in the process. To this end, research programmes are aimed at informing and assisting decision makers 'to optimise the benefits of resource allocation through land use planning'. The particulars of Irish environmental research studies are not relevant here except to note the types of research carried out, how the needs are formulated and defined, how programmes are established, and how the knowledge is disseminated. It is only through an improvement of these aspects will we ensure that research is carried out in a relevant way and at the right time.

### CATEGORIES OF RESEARCH

Because of the scarcity of relevant skills and the considerable number of small local authorities with limited resources available to them, research in Ireland is conceived basically as a centralised service funded through commissioned studies and an annual grant from Government. In this context, the research activities of An Foras Forbartha can be seen to fall into the following categories:

- longer term research with intermediate stages usually involving inventory, descriptive or data studies;

- shorter term research more usually specific and problem orientated;

- 'improvement studies' such as raising the performance of techniques or refining standards or current practice;

- 'hot line studies' which are immediate responses to answer problems, based on expertise informed by the on-going research studies.

Generally, the 'longer term research' and the 'improvement studies' are financed by the annual grant from central Government whereas, the 'shorter term

research' and 'hot line studies' are commissioned directly by the users from local government or other State agencies.

It could be correctly interpreted that the urgency in such commissioned research tends to cut across the timetable of the other studies in hand and upset the best attempts at research programming. Current examples of the longer term research include establishing an inventory of national heritage items for protection in the local authority development plans; such as areas of scientific value, buildings of architectural importance and areas of landscape value. Current shorter term projects, (two years) include a study to determine the type of manufacturing industries most compatible to the environmental characteristics of a particular deep water river estuary which is also important for the tourism industry. This study is for the local Regional Development Organisation; another is the setting up of an ecological data system for industrial impact studies. A current example of an 'improvement study' concerns the methodology for carrying out the national housing survey. This particular study is for the central government's Department of the Environment - as are studies to critically examine the performance of planning standards in the design of new housing estates implemented over recent years, and to make recommendations for improvements. Finally, 'hot line studies' (all for local authorities included during the week of preparing this paper, for example) - observations on the impact of a proposed major chalet development in a landscape important for tourism; ecological implications of slurry disposal from an intensive pig rearing farm; advice on the employment content of selected amenity developments; and residents' complaints of noise from a neighbouring meat factory.

As can be visualised from the examples above, the flexible response capacity demanded of the researchers involved denies the traditional concept of research activity. A back-up facility to aid decision making, which is closer to the Irish concept of research, demands that research develops the quality of knowledge necessary over the time scale normally required, but equally demands an aptitude of the researcher to draw on that knowledge, at any given moment of time, and offer advice when called upon for assistance by decision makers. This is the requirement of an operational researcher and one that is not easily achieved. The usual problem is that the researcher 'knows what he doesn't know' and forgets that what he does know about his subject is usually

far more than the person asking for advice. If a researcher can get this characteristic in perspective then one of the most common difficulties that exists between researcher and decision maker can be minimised. In other words, advice is needed within a certain time scale and it is fair to give that advice at the threshold of knowledge that can be achieved within that time scale - no more, no less. Conceptually this can be aided if there is an efficient dialogue existing between research and practice that facilitates the researcher to be ahead of the problem and, therefore, ready with advice.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF RESEARCH NEEDS

Some of the disadvantages of a small country are usually quoted to be a shortage of financial resources for research and a shortage of research skills. This must be admitted to be the case in Ireland, when the range of issues is listed. However, such circumstances can have advantages. The limited number of people involved usually means researchers know each other and the range of issues is such that the usual problems of conflict of interest do not arise. The shortage of finance is also a harsh discipline to ensure that the resources that are available are optimised to the fullest extent. This limits the tendency towards gaps and overlaps. One of the biggest problems is, however, the tendency towards 'immediate' needs and the neglect of longer term issues.

In the case of environmental planning research in Ireland this is somewhat modified due to the way finance is made available. Short term, problem orientated studies are usually commissioned directly by the user, from those deemed most qualified to assist with that particular problem. Rarely are the 'longer term' research or 'improvement studies' undertaken in this way. Funds, to subvent environmental research as a centralised service, are allocated to An Foras Forbartha from the Minister for the Environment by a 'Grant-in-Aid' each year. It is from this source that a continuing research programme can be developed.

The Board of Directors of An Foras Forbartha is required to prepare a research programme for approval by the Minister. The Advisory Committee system is critical in assisting the Board with this task, because they represent the 'users'. In the case of environmental planning, the Advisory Committee represents twenty-two professions and organisations directly involved in development. It includes the construction and investment sectors; tourism, industry, agriculture and housing interests. The

Universities and relevant Government and State agencies are also represented. The Committee meets four times per year and advises the Board as to the policy, research programme and progress. The Committee is serviced by the Planning Division of An Foras Forbartha.

This formal arrangement is supplemented by cultivating close working arrangements between the 'clients' in the local authorities and the researchers, particularly through a system of Regional Research Seminars where research needs and priorities are teased out. This usually involves a group of about 15 - 20 researchers and practitioners working together over two days in a residential centre. From these Seminars, and suggestions solicited from representatives on the Advisory Committee, the research needs are formulated and priorities identified. This is then matched against the resources available and a research programme is drawn up embracing on-going activities and new projects.

ALLOCATION OF RESEARCH RESOURCES

To relate research needs to the resources available is usually the most difficult task. To assist this, the structure and organisation for environmental planning research within An Foras Forbartha, is designed to allow for considerable flexiblity. This is particularly important with the continuous and rapid change in the nature of environmental problems. The Advisory Committee with the Research Programme review system provides for an assessment of needs and performance in a practical way and, thus, ensures that the flexibility provided in the structure of the organisation will allow urgent research needs to be accommodated. As the nature and diversity of the problems, combined with the shortage of qualified researchers in the field of environmental planning in Ireland, is fully recognised, a policy has been adopted that allows for the mobilisation of skills (of full-time researchers, staff of the Universities and professionals in private consultancy practice), in a variety of ways. It is also recognised that An Foras Forbartha has a role to play, in association with the Universities, in training young graduates through giving them practical experience in applied research methods.

Recent experience in an environmental research project with a study team formed from those with the relevant expertise in a University and private practice, together with some full-time researchers, has shown the benefits of this form of co-operative

working. The bringing together of research, teaching and practice has focussed a diversity of skills onto a problem and in turn added another dimension to the individuals' approach to their primary activity and attitude to environmental problems. For example, the benefit to the academics is in their teaching and is thus transferred to the students and future research. With a form of Junior Research Fellowships and Research Fellowships and Research Studentships, young graduates are brought into the project teams. In this manner research projects are carried out by people most experienced in their field, with the assistance of young graduates who will not only be contributing but also benefiting from the association with such experience. In adopting this systematic linking of different types of expertise, it is hoped that the greatest contribution can be made to the advancement of knowledge in environmental planning and at the same time to the dissemination of expertise throughout various areas of activity - to everybody's benefit.

Environmental planning research needs to be organised in a flexible way because the Grant-in-Aid allows for an establishment of only twenty full time researchers. This core of skills from different disciplines is backed up by the facilities of the research institute including, library, computer services, administration, printing etc., and also, (very important for the dissemination of research), an Education and Information Section. Nevertheless, this small team is supplemented by others from the Universities and private consultancy as the nature of the work demands and the resources available will allow. To assist particularly with the 'hot line' studies, special arrangements have been made. No Irish local authorities can afford to retain specialist skills in a full-time capacity, when needed only occasionally. In 1972 therefore, the Planning Division of An Foras Forbartha established an Advisory Service to which local authorities pay an annual subscription. The costs of the Service are met 50 : 50 by the local authorities and central government but the concept is that the local authorities have a pool of specialist skills available to them 'at the end of a telephone'.

Twenty-five research/days are provided for the subscription with a flat day rate applying for services over and above the twenty-five days. It is generally understood that no 'hot line' problem should involve more than ten researcher/days. Most problems involve a report within one to five days. To supplement the in-house researchers, and because of the wide range of problems that arise, a panel of experts from the Universities etc., it also available on call to assist in the Advisory Service. The main

point of this 'hot-line' service is to provide the local authorities with quick specialist help and cut through the administrative procedures which would be necessary if each request were independently arranged. The specialists available included architectural historians, ecologists, landscape architects, archaeologists, agricultural building engineers, architects, botanists, etc. In other words, technical skills that are not normally available for research specialists to assist the local authority technical staff.

One of the direct advantages of this 'hot line' service is the dialogue that it affords between researcher and practitioner, also the understanding that is fostered of each other's work and contribution to environmental development.

## 6. SOME COMMENTS

This paper has attempted to explain how environmental planning research in Ireland is organised to create a close link with the practical needs of decision makers. Such an organisation, as it has emerged, is in response to the characteristics of a small country with a large number of local authorities, limited research budget and a scarcity of relevant skills. An Foras Forbartha, as the focus of environmental planning research, was conceived and established with countries with similar problems clearly in mind. How An Foras has measured up to this role is for others to judge, but efficient use of limited resources has been a key issue. The mobilisation of relevant skills in the research effort is evidence of the use of professional resources. The Advisory Committee, assisting the Board of Directors and as representatives of the research users, is indicative of the attempt to ensure that research funds are spent on the relevant studies. Directly commissioned studies and the 'hot-line' Advisory Service keeps researchers and practioners in close accord. On reflection, this arrangement seems workable and relevant to the situation.

What then are the problems? Firstly, too much to do in too short a time characterises the nature of the Advisory Service. The 'hot-line' gets too hot and sometimes researchers feel they are forced to base advice on a fixed level of understanding without the time to satisfy themselves that the advice is offered at the threshold of knowledge. In other words, the effect of the information boom conflicts with the time available to absorb it and to incorporate it into the advice.

The pressures on the practitioners and decision makers grows as the pace of Ireland's development increases and at a time when public funds are in short supply. Therefore, more problems tend to become ad hoc with a tendency to pass them to researchers. If the researchers cannot deliver on time, or feel they are forced to couch their advice excessively, then any element of dissatisfaction between those concerned will tend to grow. Researchers are getting drawn into the problem solving scene and sacrificing the time available to 'early warning' studies which could help direct policies before some of the problems arise. The issue here for Research Management is to keep the balance between longer-term and shorter-term research studies and, of course, the demands of the 'hot line' Advisory Service. But, at a time when research budgets are reduced and need for commissioned studies increase, the obvious consequence is hardly avoidable.

Secondly, within so many fields of activity there is an increasing tendency towards specialisation. This can be seen in the commercial field as well as in other activities such as medicine, building construction, education, the social services, and public administration. This form of specialisation has given us more in-depth knowledge, but it has also led to communication problems between experts with difficulties arising from a narrow viewpoint. Environmental development is a subject which seems to be growing in complexity, and consequently drawing in specialists in many different subjects who in turn are becoming experts in particular aspects of environmental development. This is welcome as a higher level of knowledge is needed, but a danger exists of losing sight of the fact that problems in environmental development seldom fall into one sector of activity, (be it economical, ecological, social or engineering). The dynamics of the environment embrace many influencing factors, so more than ever an overview of problems is also needed in order to see the consequences of decisions involved.

If we are to accept that environmental planning is to help society guide development towards wanted objectives, then the consequences of possible actions must be foreseen and knowledge obtained about the inter-relationships of the various factors on the environment.

It is not sufficient for only one group of factors to be taken into account in reaching a decision, which although achieving a specific objective satisfactorily may cause unintended and

unfortunate side effects. Individual sector policies taken on their own, such as housing, roads, construction or industrial location are classic examples of this situation.

Environmental Planning is part of the political decision making process. Scientists and technologists involved in advising the decision makers therefore have a responsibility vested in them to ensure that their advice is seen as part of the comprehensive whole. Anything less will be dishonest to the decision maker, who has to reach a balanced conclusion, and to the public who will have to live with it.

We can see that reliable information is the basis of sound environmental decision making, and helps identify the role of research. There is an increasing need for basic information on the interaction between the built environment and ecological and social structures; also studies to give consideration to future possiblities and the consequences of alternative policies. This generates the need for two types of discipline in environmental research. There is the need for those scientists skilled in describing and explaining how things are in the environment such as ecologists, geographers and sociologists; and others more adept at innovative problem-solving and evaluation of alternative solutions such as engineers, architects and economists. As the scientific complexities of environmental planning, and the need for public involvement in the political decision making process increase, there is a growing need to bring together information from different sources so as to synthesise with an overall view. The integrative skills of the urban and regional planner have a particular role to play in this aspect of environmental research, attempting to bridge the gaps, not only between the different scientific and technological disciplines, but also between research and practice.

Patrick Geddes in his seminal work Cities in Evolution of 1914 foresaw the complexities of such environmental studies when he wrote that the requirements of 'a breadth of vision, range of detailed knowledge, and humility, can scarcely be expected from any one individual'. He claimed that 'the combination can probably only be achieved by the gradual development of a composite mind which would result from the close co-operation of a group of people working together'. The principal condition being that 'the group represent a wide variety of training and experience yet possess a common understanding and common vocabulary'. This is a tall order for environmental research - as we have found

out - but one that is proving increasingly valid and necessary. The Planning Division of An Foras Forbartha attempts to pursue this interdisciplinary approach to the 'composite mind' but as Geddes stated: 'it will not happen from goodwill alone, but needs to be carefully cultivated by a close co-operative training between equals at a post-graduate level'.

Here we must make the plea to the Universities to assure that when pursuing their goals of excellence in specific disciplines, they should remember the role of environmental research in society and ensure that 'common understanding and common vocabulary' between disciplines are created and the ability to synthesise is inherent in the approach to their studies.

## 11. HUMAN VALUES IN URBAN LIFE: THE NEGLECTED DIMENSION:

Leonard P. Oliver, U.S.A.

### INTRODUCTION

When I received the agenda for this well conceived and timely international conference, my initial reaction was that I was a "token humanist" in an otherwise highly technical programme on the relationship of the university to urban life. So, in preparation for this presentation, like any good humanist, I reread Aristotle's "Politics" for inspiration and put some remarks together from my experience of some sixteen years in university continuing education and the humanities. I trust my comments will be a useful contribution to the excellent dialogue which OECD, Wayne State University, and the City of Detroit have designed for this conference.

The conference agenda addresses many topics loaded with value-oriented issues which the humanities can address, even though these values, and the clash of values implicit in these topics, are not highlighted. For example, there is reference to the nature of university/city collaboration, the communication process that must go on between scholar and public officials, the influence of the university in what is normally a politically charged atmosphere in our cities; and the allocation of scarce resources within the city - somebody has to make value judgments at every step on these issues. Scholars in the humanities - historians, philosophers, literary scholars, political scientists - should automatically be invited into councils of government, into corporate and union boardrooms, to add their insights on urban issues.

In my experience in university and community life, I have found that urban policymakers, both in the public and private sectors, are extremely hesitant to call in humanities scholars when wrestling with a thorny public issue. What I would like to examine here is why this is a problem, look at some of the constraints operating on university/city collaboration, discuss the support of the National Endowment for the Humanities for urban humanities

programmes, and finally, speculate on what the humanist can contribute to urban decision- making and the quality of urban life.

THE SCHOLAR AND THE CITY - SOME PROBLEMS

As most commentators and pundits on urban life and problems are quick to state, our cities are indeed in trouble - but when haven't they been a source of major concern? Nine out of ten Americans now live in our urban areas, and, given the clash of social interests, social groupings, cultures, and political philosophies rampant in urban areas, there are naturally going to be problems. In a recent poll conducted by the Hart organisation, ninety percent of those responding to a question about the quality of urban life in America were overwhelmingly negative, referring to a state of hostility, anger, fear, and frustration about the conditions of modern society. These results held across all socio-economic backgrounds.

Classical-liberal thinking had a different conception of cities. They were places where human freedom could be realised, breaking free from feudal restraints on commerce, innovation, and individual mobility and progress. There is even a German proverb that goes, "Die Stadtluft macht frei" ("The air of the city makes one free").

Today, we simply would not be so bold as to refer to cities as liberating forces. Events seem out of our control. Political decisions are made for us, and leadership is suspect. A recent Harris poll, for example, showed a decline of public faith in leadership in American society: bankers, military leaders, Congressmen and Senators, the executive branches of government, public officials generally, professionals, and scientists. The poll showed the percentage of the American public having a strong faith in institutional leadership falling off dramatically since the late 1960's.

We seem to be awaiting the latest "technological fix" for our complex problems. As Joseph Krutch observed in his work, The Measure of Man, "Man's ingenuity has outrun his intelligence... Wisdom and good... have not kept pace with the necessity for them". And in the face of the complexity of our urban issues, Krutch would advise us either to gain knowledge to manage our civilisation more effectively, or to submit to "compulsory simplification" to reduce the complexity. (Krutch, 1954).

Only by understanding the forces that are affecting us, and by taking part in the decision making process, can we hope to regain some measure of control over our own urban destinies and reduce the complexity of issues thereby allowing the human value dimensions to emerge. This is where the humanities can help. Whereas technology tends to reduce man's role and significance in events, the humanities, by definition, place human beings at the centre of study. So why are there not more historians, philosophers, literary scholars, and political scientists involved in urban public policy matters? Up to some sixty years ago, when we witnessed the massive retreat of scholars to the graduate schools and the campuses, professionals in the humanities were routinely consulted by senior government officials at all levels. Business school faculty, engineers, demographers, and others in more technical areas of university life still are advisors to urban decision makers. Why not the humanists?

It is my belief that in our pragmatic, problem solving, action-oriented, highly politicised urban life, hard-pressed decision makers simply have no time for humanities scholars whom they perceive as soft, abstract thinkers, "eggheads" spoiling their policy deliberations. In fact, the word "egghead" conjures up a vision of someone who cannot make a decision. Novelist Louis Bromfield added to the stereotype by coining the following definition of "egghead" during the presidential election campaign in 1952:

> Egghead: A person of spurious intellectual pretentions, often a professor or the protege of a professor. Fundamentally superficial. Over-emotional and feminine in reaction to any problem. Supercilious and surfeited with conceit and contempt for the experience of more sound and able men. Essentially confused in thought and immersed in a mixture of sentimentality and violent evangelism. A doctrinaire supporter of middle-European socialism as opposed to Greco-French-American ideas of democracy and liberalism. Subject to the old-fashioned morality of Nietzsche which frequently leads him into jail or disgrace. A self-conscious prig, so given to examining all sides of a question that he becomes thoroughly addled while remaining always in the same spot. An anemic bleeding heart. (Bromfield, 1952)

Now, ask yourselves, why would a mayor or any other public official want this type of person around to consult with?

Beyond this widely accepted stereotype, another reason why humanities scholars are not automatically involved in urban decision-making is that they are unpredictable, not political; they think critically, and not always along the party line; they attempt to understand the complexities of an issue, appealing to reason and not to simplistic solutions or to special interests for decisions; and they pursue ideas wherever they may lead, living for ideas, not as most politicians and public officials, off ideas. What public official wants "second thoughts" in his daily policy deliberations? As one political scientist once told me, what we need in this country is the "institutionalization of second thoughts" for policy-makers. This could well be a role for humanities scholars.

Not only do politicians not want humanities scholars hanging around, politicians also do not want "their people" or their constituents being confused in public discussion by addle-headed thoughts proffered by scholars who have never met a payroll or who never have had to present themselves to the voters for public office.

But what these scholars can do in the public arena is to help arm citizens with ideas, "intensifying the ambiguities of public issues," as Jacob Bronowski put it in a little treatise called The Identity of Man. (Bronowski, 1966). The humanities in this sense can help citizens, through public dialogue, to make up their own minds about issues and participate on an informed basis in public decision-making. Nevertheless, elected and non-elected public officials would much prefer to depend on public opinion polls for guidance than enlightened public discussion of issues; by following the polls, they can be directive and still be leaders in tune with the times rather than becoming engrossed in a "town meeting" type atmosphere where the outcomes are left to the whims of the populace.

But when public officials today attempt to inform the "public's discretion," they invariably defer to "experts" (and humanities scholars are not immune from setting themselves up as "the new experts") to debate and communicate with the public. Public hearings, because of the deference to experts, tend to be a sham, with engineers, planners, and economists prepared with stacks of testimony, wholly technical, facing community residents who have done their homework at night in the public library and who have five minutes each to present their case. It is no wonder that public interest, consumer, and neighbourhood groups at times have to shout to be

heard in this forced setting. It is no wonder that people occasionally take to the streets to protest a highway, or the conversion of an apartment building to condominiums, or a city's employment policies. I know a philosopher who believes that apathy is really a form of "frozen hostility," and that it does not take much to threaten people's interests and arouse them to action.

Our urban technical experts and plannners give us urban renewal, the concrete ribbons of highways that dissect our cities and split our urban communities, the destruction of the massive "interurban" network of trolley lines in the early 1950's to be replaced by cars and buses, and the empty lots and parking lots that are the legacy of urban policies designed more for the planners and not the people.

Think of our cities today. We need the experts (the planners and the engineers) as we could not run our cities for a day without them. In fact we need increased sophistication in the areas of fiscal affairs, public employee unions, education, land use management, the environment, and similar urban concerns, but dependence on the experts in these matters does not necessarily mean public acceptance. The public tends to remain sceptical of urban policy solutions formulated by experts unfamiliar with neighbourhood life and concerns, and uncomfortable when faced with divergent viewpoints.

How then can humanities scholars, perceived by officials and public alike as removed from the daily concerns of community and public life, be accepted in this type of issue-oriented atmosphere when they cannot solve our urban problems, and might just be seen as subverting them by suspicious public officials and a public that seeks action and solutions - not critical analysis.

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE CITY

The university, born of the city, is today detached from it, uneasy in its relationship with its own faculty, with city officials, with representatives of the local communities it serves. Universities are still smarting from the attacks and the alienation of legislators and other policy-makers in the late 1960's, and many of these attacks still go on, as any president of a major public university can attest.

You are moving against these forces. Here in Detroit, with a great urban university co-operating with its city, you are engaged in an expensive and prestigious international conference on how the

university can forge a relationship with the city. Further, our Congress is about to pass landmark legislation called the "Urban Grant University Programme" which will become Title XI of the Higher Education Act Amendments of 1981. The bill will include a five year authorisation to enable some 25 to 40 urban universities to directly assist local government and apply their vast resources in urban problem solving efforts.

But such a national initiative for the urban university could only happen in America. The participation of the university in urban community life is a unique American phenomenon. Clark Kerr, in the early 1960's, presented in "The Uses of the University" what he thought a university's aspiration should be:

> A university anywhere can aim no higher than to be as British as possible for the sake of the undergraduates, as German as possible for the sake of the graduates and research personnel, as American as possible for the sake of the public at large - and as confused as possible for the sake of the preservation of the whole uneasy balance. (Kerr, 1963).

There has been a historical commitment of our urban universities to serving their communities, although this commitment is not as strong or widespread as the obligation the land-grant agricultural colleges have towards their rural constituencies. The constraints operating on urban universities as they undertake to participate in community life are severe and worth discussing.

First, can we really speak of "the university" as an entity, or should we speak of its constituent parts: the departments; the colleges; the centres and institutes; the administration; the board of trustees; the students; and the alumni, each of whom may have differing views of the university's role? Is it the university that becomes involved in the city or do specific faculty, departments, and other university components apply their resources in discrete ways to city affairs. Can we really refer to a "community of scholars," as those associated with the universities like to refer to themselves, or do we have, as one commentator put it, "scholarly commuters" with little interest in the university's place in the community.

Those outside the academy still look upon the university as an entity, able to move directly on urban problems. Only a decade ago, an Assistant Secretary at HUD in a paper titled, "The Urban

University: Challenge and Response," said:

> By using the city as a laboratory, the students and faculty alike can enjoy unparalleled learning experiences and at the same time turn their talents to the service of the community ... It is high time for institutions of higher learning to shape demand instead of following it. (Remarks of Charles M. Haar, "The Urban University: Challenge and Response," delivered at Lake Erie College, February 28, 1968.)

Whenever community residents or public officials speak of the university, they tend to view it as an interconnected whole, rather than made up of disparate, often discordant elements. Until we start thinking of the university in this way - as a concept given life by its faculty, students, and administrators, we are going to continue to be disappointed in its ability to move directly on urban problems.

The second constraint follows from the perception of the university as an entity, and involves the concept of "community service." The term tends to be used by presidents of public universities, deans of continuing education, commentators on higher education, and others interested in the concept of the extension of the university's resources to the public.

However, the faculty, particularly faculty in the humanities, in my experience feel uncomfortable with the concept of community service. Even though they may pay lip service to it, they really believe that this type of activity is really an extension of their research, teaching and analytical skills - in another setting. In enlisting faculty for university-city activities, perhaps we should address this concern by requesting them to extend their talents in these specific, familiar academic ways, rather than recruiting them with the nebulous concept of community service. I believe the humanities faculty, for one, would respond positively to this approach.

The third constraint is when the university is called upon to become an advocate for a special interest, i.e., "shaping demands" in the words of the HUD Assistant Secretary, rather than responding to public demands. Social and political advocacy, even the most subtle sort, puts the university in an uneasy role and we should be careful, as either university officials or public officials, not to mislead communities and public agencies alike into thinking that the university as an entity can support a

specific program with an a priori point of view or advocacy position. As soon as the university takes a position on an issue, it no longer is functioning as a university, as a place where ideas are tolerated as ends in themselves and not leading to specific conclusions. Faculty participating with public officials on specific projects can and do come at times to specific conclusions, or take a point of view, but their position cannot be endorsed or promoted by the university and still have that university maintain its credibility in the public sector and in the academic world.

The fourth constraint, and this is particularly true with humanities faculty, is the skewed reward system continuing to operate in our universities and colleges. Participation by faculty in the community or with a city agency is not generally recognised by the departments, where the power really lies, as tangible evidence for promotion and tenure of individual faculty. Wayne State University may be an exception, but university faculty tend to be discipline oriented; writing, performing, and having their work accepted or rejected by their fields or departments, rather than having their public contributions to a specific community or city agency recognised and rewarded. Faculty are devoted not so much to an institution, although there are exceptions, nor to the community in which the institution lies, but rather to their careers in their respective disciplines.

Faculty in the humanities, for example, tend to deal with problems inherent in the development of their disciplines (or subfields given the modern fragmentation of knowledge) and not with current public issues given priority by a community or a city agency. Their writing, their teaching, and their research bring rewards from their disciplines and from their departments - this is their career path - rather than from the application of their disciplines to public affairs.

To become engaged directly in urban public affairs can open a faculty member to charges of not being serious about the pursuit of knowledge and the life of the mind. He can be termed a "populariser," an "activist" more interested in solving public problems than in being discipline oriented and contributing to the body of knowledge in his field. Unfortunately, few faculty realise, and this is not stressed enough by city officials, that participation in community and city life can bring about new research and writing interest, can be an extension of their skills and capabilities, and can be extremely useful in the

applied sense with some immediate payoffs in terms of public recognition and seeing their ideas come to fruition in immediate public policy decisions.

IS THERE A ROLE FOR HUMANITIES SCHOLARS IN URBAN LIFE?

Beyond the rhetoric of scholar participation in the life of the city, let's look at some examples. Over the last few years, the Endowment has funded urban humanities programmes to the extent of between $20 and $30 million. If we include urban cultural/educational institutions such as museums, libraries, historical societies, and higher education, the figure could well rise to $60 or $70 million. In addition, state humanities committees receive $22.5 million of Endowment funds annually, and fund some 3,000 projects a year, many of which are in urban areas.

Examples of our urban humanities activities abound. The University of California at Santa Barbara has a "Public History Programme" which places graduate students in history in public and private agencies, offering course credit for their experiences. The Community Renewal Society in Chicago has a major grant of $100,000 to discuss "Unemployment and the Future of Work in Chicago," involving corporations, unions, neighbourhood groups, and city officials in a year-long discussion of this issue. The University of Hartford has received $263,000 for urban/suburban dialogues on such areawide issues as the physical environment, population flows, the inner city, the suburbs, and the interdependence of political entities. The Institute for the Study of Human Values in Philadelphia received a major grant for the involvement of scholars in working class neighbourhoods on issues of economic democracy and community justice. Mayors in five cities - Fresno, Gary, San Antonio, New Orleans, and Rockville are in negotiations with the U.S. Conference of Mayors and the Endowment on potential humanities projects. The U.S. Conference of Mayors itself has received a $175,000 grant to develop model urban humanities programmes and bring the humanities into the Mayors Leadership Institutes providing the mayors with abstracts of humanities-funded work on urban issues. In a recent survey conducted by the Conference, 140 mayors stated that their cities had some kind of urban humanities programme.

We also made a $300,000 grant to the Seattle Public Library for a programme called "This City, Seattle" which is developing neighbourhood histories and contributing to neighbourhood identity. And the Baltimore Neighbourhood Heritage Project received

$350,000 to complete 200 oral history interviews with elderly residents of Baltimore's highly ethnic neighbourhoods; the results included an original theatre review, "Baltimore Voices," arising out of the transcripts with more than 100 performances before community audiences.

On the state level, Lewiston, Maine received a grant from the Maine Council for the Humanities for neighbourhoodwide discussions of what residents wanted downtown Lewiston to be, resulting in a successful application for a UDAG Grant from HUD for the revitalization of the downtown area. And the city of Peoria had a broad-based community discussion programme on eductional issues several years ago, funded by the Illinois Humanities Council, which resulted in a positive result on an upcoming bond issue.

All these programmes involved scholars in the humanities, all reached urban community residents and decision makers alike, and all are extremely difficult to measure in terms of the relationship between a humanities programme and the way people think about their past, present, and future life in their communities. We are finding through these programmes that there has been increased acceptance of humanities scholars in community and city life, and that ever-increasing numbers of scholars are participating. Mayor Daniel Whitehurst of Fresno referred to the humanities contribution to the city in a recent Mayor's Leadership Institute in Austin:

> I suppose when I first considered the humanities and city goals and government, I have to confess it was a little remote to make that connection. You cannot build a sewer line with poetry and you probably need a police officer on your staff more than you need a linguist. Many of our problems are service delivery problems - (how are we going to pay for it?; how are we going to get it built?) - i.e. money problems. Even though these are things we are grappling with daily, I would submit that the real fundamental problem of our cities is a problem of spirit and a problem of will and a problem of values. These problems are not going to be dealt with by new sewer lines and more police officers and other kinds of things that we think of on a daily basis.

(Daniel K. Whitehurst, "The Mayor and the Humanities," presentation to the Mayors' Leadership Institute, Austin, Texas - April 28, 1980).

Mayor Whitehurst has become a firm advocate and supporter of the involvement of the humanities in urban life and has received a small grant from the Endowment to plan for a major programme of ethnic and neighbourhood identity in Fresno. It now appears that a substantial number of his colleagues, through the grant to the U.S. Conference of Mayors, are intrigued by the possibilities: for urban humanities programmes, and for enlistment of humanities scholars in co-operative projects with city government.

HUMAN VALUES AND THE UNIVERSITY/CITY CONFERENCE

You might consider the foregoing as an argument to encourage City Hall to hire humanities scholars. They do need work - only one in nine finds a teaching job; the others, hopefully, apply their skills and knowledge in other occupational settings. You might also conclude that the Endowment's encouragement of urban humanities programmes is politically important for us, given the importance of the urban constituency in America. But our urban humanities programmes are in reality closely associated with the Endowment's mandate as a Federal agency, and with its commitment to public humanities activities.

In 1965, Congress stated in our founding legislation that "democracy demands wisdom and vision in its citizens," and that the Endowment, among its other grant-making activities, should attempt to "foster...education in, and public understanding...of the humanities." (Public Law 89-209, National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965, Sec. 2 and Sec. 7 (c).) In requesting the Endowment to apply the humanities to public life, Congress assumed that wisdom, understanding, and knowledge could be a benefit to all the citizens in this country in their private and public lives. In 1970, Congress amended our Act asking the Endowment to "relate the humanities to current conditions in national life." Today, 55 percent of the Endowment's programme funds are directed towards public humanities activities, and many of these activities are urban oriented.

In considering funding of urban humanities programmes, there appear to be five major areas for the involvement of humanities scholars and neighbourhood organizations and public agencies.

1. SOCIAL/NEIGHBOURHOOD HISTORY

There is increasing interest in "cultural literacy" programmes in urban neighbourhood life to create the basis for identity and neighbourhood self-esteem. This interest on the part of neighbourhood organisations and citizens brings into focus the evolution of the institutions, the people, and the values that went into the creation of urban neighbourhoods and urban architecture, and coincides with the new movement for urban historical preservation.

The humanities can assist citizens in interpreting and understanding their traditions, their heritage, who they are, where they came from, why they chose to live and work in the city, their unique "sense of place," and how our institutions, buildings, and value systems evolved. Hopefully, in the process, city officials will come to understand more about the multi-cultural mix and influences in the urban setting, and above all, will find an increased use of history to assist people in thinking through what is of value and what they want their communities to be.

2. DIALOGUE PROGRAMMES ON PUBLIC POLICY ISSUES

Urban humanities programmes can create opportunities for public dialogue on pressing public issues, designed for general audiences, for specific groups, or for policymakers. Humanities scholars in these programmes can illuminate our differences on these issues, which help to give our neighbourhoods and communities their vitality as well as stressing the commonalities which enable them to have a community sense and to move forward in concert for positive change. If the essence of democracy is popular pressure, then city officials should be encouraging full public discussion of issues to encourage citizen participation on an informed basis prior to decisions being made.

By discussing such values as participatory democracy, equality of opportunity, economic justice, and the right to a pollutant-free environment, to a job, to decent housing, to adequate health care, to a crime-free city, and to responsive public institutions, we may be enabling citizens to rise above special interests, to get beyond easy, stereotypic responses to complex public issues, and to erase arbitrary political boundaries that tend to separate neighbourhood from neighbourhood, and urban from suburban residents. From such issue-oriented

programmes, we can hopefully evolve community standards, policies, strategies and goals, to enable citizens to participate more fully in public life. For Aristotle, the only free people, the polis, were those who participated autonomously in public enterprises for the pursuit of the good life.

3. PROGRAMMES STRESSING CITY AND METROPOLITAN-WIDE GOALS FOR THE FUTURE

The humanities can assist urban policymakers and residents alike, similar to the Lewiston programme, in discussing and eventually developing a consensual vision of what they want their communities to be, the kind of life they want for themselves and their children, the optimum scales for human living, and the quality of urban life. This is even more important today with increased scarcity and increased need for just allocations of scarce resources. My field is continuing education, and when I think of the humanities and our future, I rely on a work by Sir Richard Livingston, On Education, published in Britain in 1940:

> Human progress depends chiefly on what men see in life, and how they interpret it; the ages in which the world has moved forward are the very ages when men of religious or poetic or intellectual genius have caught sight of levels higher than those in which the world is moving. Where there is no vision the people perish. (Livingston, 1944).

4. INCREASED USE OF CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

In the previously mentioned U.S. Conference of Mayors survey, 71 percent of the mayors responding mentioned that they had ethnic activities and festivals in their towns, and 59 percent said that they had major museum exhibits in the humanities. These types of cultural programmes can be uplifting and educational for residents, but they also can be economically feasible in that they attract outsiders to the city for participation in the cultural life of the city. In Los Angeles, for example, as the City begins preparation to celebrate its 200th anniversary, the Endowment has provided a grant of $140,000 to "L.A. 200" for a major photographic exhibit tracing the evolution of the City's diverse ethnic neighbourhoods. This will be a permanent exhibit which will travel to local areas for community discussion of the history of that community. It will also be used to attract visitors, and will be in place for the 1984 Olympics.

## 5. HUMANITIES SCHOLARS AS ADVISORS TO URBAN DECISION-MAKERS

Mayors, heads of public agencies, and private sector urban decision-makers such as bankers, realtors, and corporation executives do not now automatically turn to the historian, philosopher, or literary scholar for counsel. They are perceived as abstract, removed from urban concerns, and operating within a time frame which is not conducive to expedient answers to complex problems.

However, if used properly, these humanities scholars can provide hard-pressed decision makers with the depth that an examination of history can offer, with the trade-offs and value implications a philosopher can draw from public issues, with the human context and scale literary scholars can bring to discussion, and generally, with the insights and objectivity any scholar worth his salt can contribute to public affairs. Cities have not tried to employ humanities scholars in either a systematic way or on a wide scale. Through such grants as the award to the U.S. Conference of Mayors, however, city officials are becoming more aware of the usefulness and application of the humanities, and the possibilities extant in urban humanities programmes to enhance the quality of urban decision-making and the quality of urban life.

## A SUMMING UP

Generally, the humanities can assist residents and urban policy makers in restoring rationality to public life, in increasing respect for ideas, dissent, and tolerance of minority views, and in legitimising ethical controversy and the rational assessment of public affairs. Citizenship is practical not speculative; active not passive; an art not a theory. It is truly the art and virtue of living in a community.

The process of citizen-public official-scholar interaction, i.e. the university and the city which is the theme of this conference, the process of helping citizens and decision makers think critically and analytically about urban life, can be as important in the long run as the substance of urban humanities programmes. This process, in my opinion, is a wise investment of Federal dollars in people and communities, in making citizens more aware of the widest range of possibilities for action and

improvement, and in creating essential vehicles for future dialogue, with the university as the "mediating institution" between citizens with a need to know and participate, and City Hall with a need to understand, unravel, and eventually decide on public issues.

Alfred North Whitehead talked about the "critical margin between thoughtful ideas and thoughtful actions", and the reason why participants have taken a week of valuable time, coming from all parts of the world; and why this conference is timely and needed; is that our cities desperately need political, economic, and social answers to their problems - how to turn ideas into action. We have to place science and technology in a context of "just because we can do it, should we do it?"

We have to understand covert or bureaucratic forms of violence to human dignity and to citizens as well as more overt forms of criminal and civil violence. We have to watch our language and learn to communicate across cultures. We have to see the interelatedness, the holistic nature of issues such as housing, education, jobs, and neighbourhood self-help and development - in spite of government categorical programmes which tend to segment these issues. We have to challenge shoddy consumer practices, redlining, and the putting of profits above the quality of life. We have to understand why questions of power underline most urban issues, and not concepts of ethics and justice. We have to understand the nature of legitimate and illegitimate authority, and by what authority a government regulates a free people and in their own best interest. The humanities can help with all of these issues.

Finally, the university, as one of our last remaining institutions where ideas are taken seriously as ends in themselves, through its faculty and other resources, can begin to address these issues. Whether humanities scholars are taken seriously by public officials in this process is up to City Hall and the public agencies, and to the scholars themselves. "The humanities," or applied action humanities, in the words of William May of Indiana University, "will not redeem us, but they invigorate the work of interpretation and criticisim upon which a democracy depends." (William May, "The Humanities and the Civic Self," pamphlet prepared for a meeting of humanities scholars in Indiana, January, 1978.)

There is nothing we do not know about our modern cities. They have been studied from every perspective - population, architecture, water tables, patterns of land use, socio-economic lines, politics and voting

patterns, and so on. What we still have to achieve is the use of this knowledge to make our cities beautiful, accessible, livable, safe, and clean. In a short poem titled, "After Reading a Child's Guide to Modern Physics," W. H. Auden spoke of the use of knowledge:

> This passion of our kind
> for the process of finding out
> is a fact one can hardly doubt.
> But I would rejoice in it more
> if I knew more clearly what
> we wanted the knowledge for.

I urge you not to neglect the humanities, the human values dimension in your deliberations about urban policy making. The humanities can help us think through, in Auden's terms, what we want the knowledge for in the first place.

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In addition a large number of participants from many parts of the United States attended the national conference which was held in association with this international symposium.

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## 14. NETWORKS

The following is a listing of organisations and individuals known to be concerned with city/university cooperation and serving as networking centres in the United States.

In Europe, contact should be made directly with the Local Government Management Unit of the Technical Cooperation Service of the OECD in Paris which can supply names and addresses of persons working in this field in most of the 24 OECD Member countries. Interested readers are also invited to contact this Unit in order to make their international register of people and organisations involved in this field as current and comprehensive as possible.

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COMMITTEE OF URBAN PROGRAM UNIVERSITIES (CUPU)
1300 Nineteenth St, N.W.,
Suite 220,Washington DC 20036,
Director: Jim Harrison

COUNCIL OF UNIVERSITY INSTITUTES FOR URBAN AFFAIRS (CUIUA)
College of Urban Affairs and Public Policy
University of Delaware
Newark
Delaware 19711
Executive Director: Mary Helen Callahan
tel. (302) 738 2394

CITY/UNIVERSITY CONSORTIUM
Center for Urban Studies
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Detroit
Michigan 48202
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tel: (313) 577 2210

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Cleveland State University
1983 East 24th St.
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Technical Cooperation Service
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